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Chapters in the History and Civilization of Ancient Megara

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INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1925 Hermann Reinganum published two important monographs, the one entitled, "Das alte Megaris. Ein Beitrag zur Altertumskunde Griechenlands," and the other, "De Indole atque Ingenio Megarensium." These studies apparently gave impetus to a peculiar interest in the ancient Megarians and they were followed from time to time by other treatises dealing with some special phase of the history and civilization of that people. The writings of Vogt, Cauer, Seeliger and Pfister deserve special mention here.

Reinganum's pioneer work was based upon statements of the ancient writers and the reports of modern travellers and geographers. Since his time, however, the systematic study of inscriptions, topography and art has opened up a new field of investigation and this, along with excavation, has given us much additional information concerning the Megarians and their neighbors. Consequently, some of Reinganum's conclusions need to be supplemented and occasionally revised. Unfortunately, however, excavation in Megara has been very limited for the evident reason that the modern city covers much of the ancient site, hence many questions of topography are still unsettled. Furthermore, the city has suffered a hard fate at the hands of successive invaders when many of its monuments were almost totally destroyed leaving little trace of their location. Add to this the perishable character of the native building material and the common practice of using old material, sometimes far removed from its original location, for the construction of modern houses.

The Megarians were a people whose importance is great enough to deserve careful study. Living on the isthmus that joined the two great divisions of Greece they were located at the very cross-roads of influence in the most literal meaning of that term. Their early ancestors appear to have come from over the sea and probably some of them had seen service in the fleet of Minos

the Cretan. They were no doubt related to the early Athenians but later when the Dorian invasion swept over the Isthmus, this early population was subjected to the newcomers who thereupon established a Dorian state. But many of the characteristics of the original stock lingered on, and often the hostility between conqueror and conquered broke out in the form of stubborn revolt.

It is the Megarians who became the early rivals of Athens for the supremacy of the sea. They first conquered Salamis and for a long period held it in spite of Athenian efforts to capture it. They were the first Greeks of the mainland to send colonies to the region of the Black Sea, where they founded Byzantium, a city destined by its location to become one of the most famous of all times; and in spite of the rivalry and designs of Corinth they were able to preserve their boundaries intact on the west and even to plant colonies in Sicily. During the Persian War they served the Greek cause faithfully.

With the loss of Salamis, however, Megara's power began to wane. Finally, after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the surrounding country was harassed and invaded many times. Thus Megara's geographical position in the end meant her downfall and ruin. From now on she gradually declined until in Roman times she preserved only the memory of her former glory and was chiefly famous as a resort for tourists, as we learn from Cicero, Vergil and Pausanias. The Roman poets, particularly those of the Augustan age, make frequent mention of her early history and her famous mythical kings.

Compared with many of the other Peloponnesian states, Megara was mild in the degree of her Dorism. Stimulated no doubt by her proximity to Athens, she cultivated art, literature, and philosophy as the names of Theocosmus, Theognis, and Eucleides amply testify. She made a strong bid for the birth place of the Old Comedy. In the building of aqueducts, she was without a peer in the Greek world. But as a further consequence of her proximity to

Athens she suffered in reputation at the hands of the latter as did the Boeotians on the north; and this disparagement has not ceased even in modern times.

The present thesis presents the preliminary chapters of a more complete study which will include in addition such topics as "Colonization," "Natural Products and Industries," "National Traits," The Contest for Salamis," "The Persian and Peloponnesian Wars," "Literature and Philosophy," "Megara as an Asylum," and a Prosopographia Megarensis.

CHAPTER 1.

Topography and Monuments.

The isthmus that constituted the country of Megaris is a rocky neck of land about 15 km. wide and 30 km. long.[1] Its general direction is east by northeast. To the north lay Mt. Cithaeron separating it from Boeotia, and to the east was Mt. Kerata whose eastern slope, along with the little stream Ianis, formed the boundary-line between Megaris and Attica. Corinthia joined it on the southwest. Its north shores were washed by the Halcyonian Sea while on the south the Saronic Gulf joined it with the Aegean.[2]

Megaris was thus one of the smallest of the Greek states[3] and its mountainous character made travel very difficult and the gaining of a livelihood no easy matter. Mt. Geraneia extended throughout its entire length forming a watershed whose direction was west-northwest by east-southeast. On the north the mountains sloped gradually to the sea but on the south the coast was in most places steep and precipitous.

The formation of the greater part of the isthmus is the work of the ice-sheet of the early tertiary period.[4] The deposits are largely of fresh water lime and sandy marl, and calcareous formation extends as much as 500 meters above sea-level. The watershed is made by the edge of a level plateau which divides two very different slopes. The short one to the north is separated into a labyrinthine system of steep, winding glens deeply eroded, which the ice-sheet broke up into the form of small rifts. These extend from the edge of the plateau to the sea and, cañon-like, show on their sides layer upon layer of brightly colored beds of marl which altogether may reach a depth of 300 meters. The top layer of marl has a deep red color and in some places extends downward for 100 meters. This entire district of gorges is very inaccessible and untillable; the brightly colored sides of marl are cold

and bare; only here and there can be seen a small, scrubby vine-tree. The region is entirely uninhabited.

The southern slope is quite different. It falls gradually without dissections from the divide down to a level alluvial plain which includes the eastern part of the isthmus about the city of Megara. A ravine extending from the divide west of Megara and falling into the plain shows on its sides marl, limy marl and sandy marl alternating with conglomerate and poros. There are also layers of lignite. The latter contain a rich fauna of fresh water and salt water shell-fish, showing that the deposits come from what was once an inland sea of the late Pliocene age.[5] This sea was formed by the overflowing of the larger body of water nearby. The Neogene deposits belong to the similar and contemporaneous formations found over so large a part of the Orient.

On the slope of the mountain west of Megara is a bed of red potters' clay which apparently furnished the material for the flourishing pottery industry that must have been hers in antiquity. Rising gradually from the plain about Megara on the east was Mt. Kerata. On the north it meets the southern spur of Mt. Cithaeron while its eastern slope forms the boundary-line between Megaris and Attica, as we have noted previously. While the country was prevailingly elevated, its surface was not high enough for many of the elevations to be called mountains in the strictest sense of that term.[6] The highest point of Mt. Geraneia (mod. Makriplagi) was 1372 meters above sea-level while the two hills on which Megara was located were less than 300 meters.[7]

Alternating with the elevated sections were a number of plains, most of them very small. By far the largest and most important was the one in which Megara, the principal city, was located. It lay between Mt. Geraneia on the west and Mt. Kerata on the east and northeast, extending to the coast on the south.[8] Its soil today is composed of rich loam beneath which the water

lies very shallow giving to it extraordinary fertility. It is perforated with springs, which now furnish the drinking water, and covered with fields of grain separated by rows of olive trees. On the south coast, west of the road leading over the Scironian Rocks, were several small plains lying side by side between the feet of the mountain spurs and the coast. While in ancient times they were the centres of important activities, today they are for the most part desert.

The streams were mere mountain torrents and for the greater part of the year entirely dry.[9] But enough rich soil was deposited at their mouths during the rainy season to make small fertile patches where the natives could raise some scanty crops. The indentations of the coast line afforded several good harbors. This was especially true on the north where Pagae and Aegosthena were located in most desirable positions. On the south was Nisaea, the famous harbor-town, which carried on Megara's chief commercial activity.

From the above brief sketch it will be seen that the surface of Megaris was much the same as that of Attica although more barren and stonier.[10] In fact, in early times, as we shall see later, it was considered a part of Attica. While the Megarians were denied the pursuit of agriculture to any great extent, turning rather to commerce and trade as their leading industry, yet they did carry on within the narrow confines of their tillable area rather extensive operations that show unusual thriftiness and energy.[11]

Certain stretches along the south coast seem to have been boggy. This is particularly true of the neighborhood of Nisaea and Minoa where inundations of the sea apparently were quite common.[12] Exportation of salt was an important Megarian industry and it is on the coast of Nisaea, we are informed,[13] that much salt was collected, which implies a swampy district. There are some indications, also, that the climate of Megaris was not very healthful;[14] and this condition may well be accounted for by the marshy areas.

The geographical position of this little country is significant.[15] By sea it had access to the north and south, and as a land-link it joined northern Greece to the Peloponnesus. It thus served both as a military road and commercial route between these two divisions of Greece. Although the rugged character of the country made travel extremely difficult still three important roads led through it.[16] One ran along the north coast and extended from Corinth to Thebes. This was probably the oldest. Another following the south coast led from Corinth to Megara and thence to Eleusis and Athens. A third wound its way through the depression in the mountainous district of the central portion of the country and connected Megara with Pagae.

Our principal ancient authority on the topography of Megara and the surrounding territory is ofcourse Pausanias,[17] and it will be found convenient to follow his order of description. He enters from the east immediately after his visit to Eleusis. He states that originally the district called Megaris belonged to the same territory as Attica.[18] During the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians invaded Attica and marched against Athens, but on being repulsed by the Athenians, they were forced to withdraw. However, they seized Megara on their retreat and as a consequence of the settlements made in their city the Megarians were compelled to change both their language and customs and they become Dorians. According to Megarian tradition, their chief city was first called Caria after Car, the first king. But later a temple (μέγαρον) was erected to Demeter and from it the city was then named Megara.[19]

The city was built upon two hills of which the eastern was called the acropolis Caria, the western the acropolis Alcathoa. The latter was slightly the higher.[20] The acropolis Caria, as we have said, was the original place of settlement and its beginnings as a city go back to prehistoric times.[21]

later, the settlement spread to the acropolis Alcathoa and still later to the territory lying at the feet of both hills. The modern town is mostly confined to the western hill.

Pausanias begins his survey of the city with a brief description of the famous aqueduct of Theagenes, which was notable for its size, decoration and number of its columns. The fountain house was located on the saddle between the two acropolises, a short distance south of the point where the two roads meet that lead to the top of the hills.[22] This gave it a central location and here the women came with their water jars to draw the fresh spring water that was conveyed by an underground aqueduct from the foot of the hills on the north. The spring-house was dedicated to the Sithnidian Nymphs who were especially honored in Megara since Megarus, racial ancestor of the Megarians, was said to have been the son of one of these Nymphs and Zeus.

Near the spring-house of the Nymphs was a temple built to Artemis Savior. It had been erected out of gratitude to Artemis for her deliverance from the hosts of Mardonius the Persian. The Megarians tell how the goddess sent a cloud to surround the Persians as they were withdrawing from pillaging the surrounding territory. In confusion they turned toward the mountains and began to search for their enemy. They shot their arrows indiscriminately and the rocks when struck gave forth groans--the groans of living beings, as it seemed. Thus encouraged, the Persians poured forth their arrows with still greater zeal. But when at length all their darts had been spent, day began to break and the Megarians marched out to meet them. The unarmed Persians were no match for the former who slew them in great numbers. Thus Artemis saved the Megarians and in gratitude they didicated a temple to her.[23]

We now pass north over the depression between the two citidels and at the foot of the northwestern slope of the acropolis Caria come to the Olympieum, a splendid temple.[24] Here was to be seen the chryselephantine statue of Zeus made by Theocosmus, greatest of Megarian sculptors. On this work he had been assisted by his master Phidias but the statue was only partly completed as the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War interrupted the work of the sculptors. Here, likewise, was kept the bronze beak of an Athenian trireme captured by the Megarians in the war for the possession of Salamis. Ascending the acropolis Caria we pass a number of sanctuaries. There follow in order the temples of Dionysus Nyctelius, Aphrodite Epistrophia, the Oracle of Night, and the temple of Zeus Conius. Finally, the temple of Demeter, the famous Μέγαρον, appears on the very summit of the citadel.[25]

We descend by a road leaving the acropolis on the north and come to the grave of Alcmena, which is close to the Olympieum.[26] The Megarians claimed that Alcmena died in Megaris while on her way from Argos to Thebes. Thereupon a dispute arose among the sons of Heracles whether the body should be returned to Argos or taken to Thebes. But the Delphic oracle advised them to bury it in Megaris.

Going northward over the road leading to Thebes we come to a small village called Rhus.[27] It is only a short distance from Megara, and not far from it was to be seen a group of temples and hero graves. First the tomb of Hyllus, son of Heracles, then in order the temple of Isis, and the temple of Apollo and Artemis Of-the-Chase built apparently on a hill.[28] Descending this hill we come to the graves of Pandion, Hippolyte, and Tereus.

In our third tour we visit the eastern acropolis and its environs.[29] This hill was particularly associated with Alcathous, mythical leader of the colony that originally brought the Heraclidae to settle in Megara. As we ascend

we pass on our right the tomb of Megareus, the hearth of the Θεοὶ Προθύραιοι to whom Alcathous sacrificed when he was about to build the city walls, and nearby the famous Singing Stone. It is here, according to the local tradition, that Apollo laid his lyre while helping Alcathous to build the walls. The Stone is only less wonderful, says Pausanias, than the statue of Memnon. For when struck with a pebble, it gives forth a sound like that of the cithara. We also pass the Curia before reaching the top.

On the summit are three temples to Athena. The first was dedicated to Athena Polias,[30] no doubt, though Pausanias does not give the cult-epithet. Within was a chryselephantine statue of the goddess. Nearby were the temples of Athena Victory and the Athena of Ajax. Pausanias considers the statue in the latter to be very old and probably dedicated by Ajax. Apollo also had a temple here in which he was worshipped as Pythius, Tithe-receiver, and divine Οἰκιστής. The building was originally of brick but it had been rebuilt by Hadrian of white marble. As Apollo Pythius and Tithe-receiver the god was worshipped in the form of Egyptian ξόανα, while his cult-statue as divine Οἰκιστής was of ebony wood in the style of the Aeginetan school. Finally, there is the temple of Demeter Giver-of-Laws.

As we descend we come to the grave of Callipolis, son of Alcathous. The story is told that Alcathous had sent his older son Ischepolis to join Meleager on the Calydonian Boar Hunt. But Ischepolis lost his life on this expedition and his brother was the first to learn of the sad news. Rushing up the acropolis to the temple of Apollo where his father was performing sacrifice, he tore the wood from off the altar as the sign of his grief. But Alcathous, ignorant of the death of his older son and angered at this unholy act of Callipolis, struck the latter on the head with one of the billets that he had torn from the altar, and killed him.

In our fourth tour of the city we leave the acropolis [illegible]ea and pass down through the market-place toward Nisaea.[31] Our first objective is the Prytaneum[32] and the monuments in its vicinity. We first come to the heroum of Ino surrounding which is a circular wall of stones. Olive trees grow about the shrine. Local tradition said that the body of Ino was washed upon the shores of Megaris and was discovered and buried by the daughters of one of the early kings, Alcson the Megarian. It is claimed also that Ino was first called Leucothea here. Each year sacrifice is offered to her. Next comes the grave of the heroine Iphigenia,[33] who died in Megara, according to local tradition. This claim, says Pausanias, is contrary to the usual stories which state that Iphigenia did not die at all but was made a priestess by Artemis. Adrastus likewise received divine honor. It is said that he died here while returning with his army from Thebes, the immediate cause of his death being old age and grief over the death of his son Aegialeus. The temple of Artemis to which we next come was erected by Agamemnon. He dedicated it during the visit which he made to Megara in order to persuade Calchas to accompany him on the expedition against Troy. Near the Prytaneum is the "Rock of Calling Up" where, according to local tradition, Demeter called forth her daughter after she had travelled far and wide in search of her. Hence the women of Megara still celebrate this event with appropriate rites. The Prytaneum itself contains the graves of Ischepolis and Alcippus.

In this same district Pausanias was guided to the graves of illustrious warriors. Among the latter were the heroes who had fallen in the Persian War.[34] The Gymnasium, also, contained the tombs of heroes,[35] and had been erected under the following circumstances. After the death of Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, the Megarians decided it would be better for them to be governed by several magistrates chosen yearly rather than by one man. So

Aesymnus, who was held in high esteem among them, was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi regarding the way in which they could receive greatest prosperity. The god replied that they would prosper best "if they took counsel of the majority." This response was interpreted to mean that they should erect a building to enclose the graves of the heroes.

Leaving the Aesymnium we pass on toward the heroum of Alcathous. Between the two are the graves of Pyrgo, first wife of Alcathous, and of Iphinoe, his daughter. The latter died when she was but a young girl. The young women of Megara are accustomed to place fillets on the tomb of Iphinoe and before marriage to make votive offerings to her of their hair.

We are now nearing the market-place, between which and the grave of Alcathous we pass a group of four temples. The first was dedicated to Dionysus by Polyeidus who, according to local belief, had come to Megara to cleanse Alcathous of the pollution which resulted from killing his son Callipolis. At the entrance to the temple stood the graves of Astycrateia and Manto, daughters of Polyeidus. Nearby is the temple of Aphrodite Praxis containing an ivory statue of the goddess. Praxiteles had made figures of Persuasion and Consolation, and Scopas statuettes of Love, Longing and Yearning. The temple of Tyche had a statue of the goddess which was also the work of Praxiteles. In the fourth temple[36] was a sculptured group in bronze representing Zeus and the Muses. The latter was the work of Lysippus.

Entering the market-place we see the graves of Coroebus and Orsippus. The former was considered to be the founder of the town Tripodiscus which lay northwest of Megara. According to the usual story, Coroebus had incurred the ill will of Apollo for slaying Punishment whom the god had sent against the city of Argos to avenge Psamathe, his beloved. As a penalty he was ordered by the Pythia to carry with him a tripod wherever he went. At the place where the tripod should slip from his hands he was to erect a temple to Apollo, and there

live. Thus it is that he became the founder of Tripodiscus.[37] On his grave elegiac verses[38] were inscribed telling the story of Ischamathe and a sculptured relief represented him slaying Punishment. Orsippus was a famous athlete and warrior who first won fame by a victory at Olympia in 720 B.C. This victory is said to have been especially notable because Orsippus cast aside previous custom in the games and ran entirely nude. Later, when the Corinthians were encroaching on Megarian territory, he led the army that restored the boundary lines of his country. An epigram on his grave recorded the latter event.[39]

Leaving the market-place we follow the "Straight Road" to the south. On our right, at some distance off the Road, stands the temple of Apollo Protector. Here, in addition to others, are to be seen splendid statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto. The group representing Leto and her children was sculptured by Praxiteles. The "Gate of the Nymphs" evidently served as an entrance to the city walls on the south, and no doubt the Straight Road led through it. Near this Gate stood the old Gymnasium[40] within which was a small stone pyramid called Apollo Carinus.[41] Here, too, was the temple of the Ilithyiae.

We have now completed our survey of Megara and shall next proceed to a brief consideration of the harbor-town Nisaea, which lay about a mile southeast of Megara. These two towns were related much the same as were the Piraeus and Athens. Nisaea had one acropolis that stood close to the sea; and while there still may be some uncertainties about the relative location of Nisaea and the island Minoa,[42] it seems quite well established that the former is to be identified with the present Hill of St. George. Remains of fortification walls can be traced on the north, south and east. The western side of the hill being naturally strong required no wall. The eastern rampart was continued from the northeast corner about one-quarter of a mile down the hill

to the plain below. Seven towers may be seen in this prolongation. All these walls are undoubtedly ancient. The town lay at the western slope of this acropolis.

A small bay forms the harbor of Nisaea and at its western extremity stands a hill about 150 feet high, on which is a mediaeval fortress constructed largely of ancient blocks. This hill is probably the island of Minoa mentioned by Pausanias[43] and Thucydides.[44] The former says merely that the island was close to Nisaea while the latter states that it lay off the shore but united to it by a causeway built over a shoal. The Megarians had constructed a tower on the island and used it as a fort. There are remains on the hill of a wall typical of the fifth century B.C. in Greece, which show that it ran southeast. In line with these are the remains of still another wall in the sea, representing probably one of the towers held by the Megarians. North of the hill and west of the main road are two square foundations which may well belong to the bridge starting at the island. It is probable that there was no bridge from Minoa to the mainland between the years 427 and 423 B.C. For we are told[45] that Nicias cleared the channel between Minoa and the mainland in 427, which probably means that he destroyed a bridge previously there. In 423 the Athenians may have rebuilt this bridge after they recaptured the Long Walls.

These Long Walls connecting Nisaea and Megara were built by the Athenians in 459 B.C. when Megara joined the Athenian alliance and were constructed for the purpose of protecting the former against Corinth, Aegina and Epidaurus. But in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian War, since Megara was now on the side of Athens' enemies, the Athenians tore them down part of the way and during the following winter the Megarians themselves completed the destruction. From that time on they were alternately rebuilt and destroyed.

In Strabo's time they seem to have been in existence but Pausanias does not mention them. At present there are few remains though their general direction can be traced. With the bridge joining Minoa to the mainland intact and the Long Walls connecting the two towns, it would be easy to command the harbor of Nisaea and thus blockade Megara seaward. The Athenians found these conditions greatly to their advantage during the Peloponnesian War. For privateers could be prevented from issuing from the harbor to play on Athenian commerce, since on the west of Minoa the coast is steep and rocky while at the east end of the harbor the acropolis joins a chain of hills extending for about one and a half miles and finally terminating in the rugged promontory of Tichо.

The topography of Nisaea and Minoa as given above is based mainly on Pausanias and Thucydides. It shows that the configuration of the coast now differs considerably from what it was at their time. The shoal water which divided the island from the coast has disappeared. But that such a shoal did once exist seems most likely as on both sides of the hill there are still to be seen the beds of streams that once flowed into the Saronic Gulf. The alluvial deposits from these streams may well have filled in the shoal and thus finally connected the island with the mainland. That Megaris is still rising was pointed out when we dealt with its geological formation. In Strabo's day the shoal seems to have been partly filled in since he describes Minoa as "a headland forming the harbor at Nisaea." [46] Pausanias, however, writing 150 years after Strabo's time, calls Minoa an island. This may mean, as Casson observes, that it was separated from the mainland only by a marsh.

What appear to be the remains of the town, Nisaea, may still be seen north and east of Minoa. They consist of massive foundations of ancient buildings, hewn blocks, and pieces of unfluted columns. Pausanias[47] speaks of the

temple of Demeter Malophoru as being close to Nisaea, and Thucydides[48] mentions the sanctuaries of Kuyalius and Poseidon, which evidently were in this district; the tomb of Lelex, an early mythical king of Megara, was at the foot of the acropolis of Nisaea.[49] As yet none of these sites have been identified. Modern Nisaea is located at the rocky headland extending out from the Hill of St. George.

We have already mentioned the road that ran along the southern coast and connected Megara with Corinth. Only a short distance southwest of modern Megara, the footpath turns to the right of the carriage-road and passes over a hill. In the angle made by the foot path and the carriage-road have been found a number of tombs, some of which were hewn in the rock but others constructed of stone. Many fragments of vases, statuettes, and other antiquities were found in the graves.[50] Here no doubt was located the tomb of the Samian flute-player Telephanes, mentioned by Pausanias.[51] The tomb was said to have been constructed by Cleopatra, daughter of Philip and grand-daughter of Amyntas. On this same road was the grave of Car, son of Pharoneus and first of the mythical kings. The tomb has not yet been definitely located although Lolling conjectured[52] that it might be one of the two hills called Tourmouloi only a short distance southwest of Megara. Excavations,[53] however, proved that both hills were only natural elevations. While Lolling thus withdrew his original conjecture,[54] it is quite possible that in early times one of the hills was regarded as the tomb of Car, for Pausanias says that originally his grave was simply a mound of earth but that later the oracle ordered it be built more elaborately of mussel-stone.[55]

We now come to the famous Scironian Road which is thus vividly described by Strabo:[56] "The road from Megara and Attica to Corinth passes over (these rocks). And so close does it run to the cliffs that it is steep and precipitous

everywhere, and because of the overhanging rocks, high and difficult of passage." Such a road would naturally be the lurking place of robbers both in ancient and modern times. It was a dreaded path[57] and the modern inhabitants of Megaris have appropriately named it the Kaki Skala ("Evil Staircase"). For six miles it followed a narrow, crumbling ledge 600 to 700 feet above the sea. So narrow was this path that only one beast of burden could pass along with safety and even then it must needs be very sure-footed. In stormy weather its dangerous character would be especially manifest since a false step would inevitably bring death on the rocks below. On the other hand, a road of this character would be important in time of war as it could easily be rendered impassible and held without difficulty. Accordingly, when the Spartans heard that Leonidas had been defeated at Thermopylae they hurried to the isthmus, blocked up this road, and at the same time constructed a wall across the isthmus.[58] Pausanias[59] is no doubt giving the local Megarian version when he states that Sciron was the first to make the road passable for an army. The Emperor Hadrian later widened it so that two carriages might pass. Even today marks of carriage wheels are visible in the rocks; and these, along with remnants of supporting masonry and ancient pavement, may well be the remains of this early wagon road.

One of the high rocks, at a point where the road is very narrow, was called the Molurian Cliff. It was here, according to legend, that Ino leaped into the sea. The cliff was thereafter considered sacred to Ino-Leucothea and Palaemon (formerly Melicertes) but the rest of the neighborhood was pronounced accursed because of the evil practices of Sciron, who would pitch his victims from the rocks into the sea below, where a huge sea-tortoise would feed upon their bodies. But thanks to Theseus, Sciron at last met the same fate.[60]

Above this road about 4 miles southwest of Megara was located the

temple of Zeus Aphesius. It stood at the base of the mountains 850 feet above sea-level and commanded a splendid view of the Saronic Gulf. The site was first identified by Lolling in 1887 and excavated by Philios two years later. The temple was a small one, only 14 by 20 feet, and contained but a single cella with a portico facing southeast. A few fragments of sculpture and many sherds were found on the site. But most important of all were three fragments of a vase that bore parts of an inscription, one of these having the letters -φεσ- which easily suggested the restoration [Διὸς Ἀ]φεσ[ίου] or [Διὶ Ἀ]φεσ[ίῳ] on the basis of Pausanias' statement.[61] The latter says that he also saw statues of Aphrodite, Apollo and Pan in the temple.

Advancing along the road toward Corinth we come to the grave of Eurystheus, who, according to Megarian belief, had fled from Attica after his defeat at the hands of the Heracleidae and was killed by Iolaus on this spot.[62]

After leaving the Scironian Rocks the road descend. to a small plain along the sea. Here was located the sanctuary of Apollo Son-of-Leto.[63] At present this plain is almost deserted because of its unhealthfulness but some olive trees still grow in it. The neighboring swamp breeds fever and its effect is clearly seen in the sickly inhabitants of the hamlet Kineta. As the road at this point runs through thick underbrush and up and down small hills the view is generally shut off. The neighborhood is such as to afford good protection to robbers who could easily hide in the dense shrubbery and attack passing travellers at will.[64]

The boundary-line between Megaris and Corinth lay only a short distance to the west in the neighborhood of the town Crommyon.[65] While the latter belonged to Corinth in historical times,[66] it was originally a town of Megaris.[67] The contests over boundary-lines between Megaris and Corinth concerned themselves much with Crommyon and extended far back into mythical times.[68] During the Peloponnesian War it was a Corinthian garrison town.[69]

Situated on the north coast were Pagae[70] and Aegosthena. The former was a harbor-town connected with Megara and Nisaea by one of the principal roads. It was built on two hills close to the sea near the site of the deserted modern village Alepo Chori or Alepeko Kampo. Ruins of the city may still be seen. While Pagae appears to have played a minor part in the early history of Megaris, it is quite possible that its importance would seem considerable if the economic history of this part of the Greek world were better known. For, being a seaport town joined to Megara on the southeast, it must have been a most important centre of commerce and trade in the little country. When Megara joined the Athenian alliance in 459 B.C., the Athenians got control of Pagae but gave it up in 445 at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta.[71] Inscriptions[72] as well as coins[73] show that it was independent in later times. Pagae was associated with the defeat of the Persians under Mardonius, for nearby was shown to Pausanias a rock with arrows sticking in it. Here it was, they said, that Artemis turned the Persians into confusion.[74] A bronze statue of Artemis Savior was erected in the city, similar in all essential features to the one in Megara. Here, too, was the grave of the hero Aegialeus, son of Adrastus.

Aegosthena[75] was the most northerly of the Megarian towns. It was situated at the head of a rectangular bay (mod. Porto Germano) which, on the north was enclosed by the western prolongation of Mt. Cithaeron, on the south by Mt. Geraneia. Back of Aegosthena the hills rise steep and are covered with pine and fir trees. The walls of the ancient town are well preserved[76] and the inscriptions[77] found on the site easily identify the place. The city is rarely mentioned by ancient writers.[78] One stretch of the road from Aegosthena to Creusis in Boeotia was apparently as dangerous as the Scironian pass. It led along the face of the sea-cliffs and was subject to sudden and violent gusts of wind.[79] Aegosthena was noted for its sweet wine.[80] But its chief title to fame

rested upon the sanctuary of Melampus, famous seer and healer. The people were accustomed to offer sacrifice to him and celebrate a yearly feast in his honor.[81]

The village Mreneia, which Pausanias mentions,[82] has not been identified but it was probably located northeast of Megara.[83] Here was the tomb erected in honor of Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus of Thebes. It was believed that she died here overwhelmed with grief for Actaeon's death and because of other calamities.

Notes to Chapter I.

1. The area is given as 470 qkm. by Iolling (Geographie u. Polit. Gesch des Klass. Alt. p.121, in Müller's Handbuch) and J. Peloch (Klio VI (1906) p.55).

2. Ἀλκυονὶς θάλαττα (Strabo VIII. 2. 3, IX. 1. 8, 2. 1).

Σαρωνικὸς κόλπος (Strabo VIII. 2. 2, 6. 4; Aesch. Ag. 291; Pliny, N.H. IV. 5. 18; Ptol. III. 16. 12.). As the name Σαρωνικὸς κόλπος was applied to the entire body of water between the two promontories Sunium in Attica and Scyllaeum in Argolis, that part of the bay between Megaris and Salamis was frequently called the Σαλαμινιακὸς κόλπος or Megaricus Sinus (Pliny, N.H. IV. 12. 19). Similarly on the north, the general name covering the whole stretch of water from the shore of the isthmus to the narrows between Achaea and Argolis was Κορινθιακὸς κόλπος (Strabo IX. 2. 25), while the eastern part of the bay was often called Κρισαῖος κόλπος (Strabo, ibid.) Reingaüum, Das alte Megaris, p.7, and Pursian, Geographie von Griechenland I. 366, n. 4.

3. Doris was the smallest and Megaris second smallest (Iolling, op. cit. p.121). Reingaüum (op. cit. p. V.) calls the latter the smallest.

4. For the geology of Megaris see especially Philippson, Der Peloponnes, 1892, passim. Pursian (op. cit. I. 366-384) and Curtius (Peloponnesos I. and II. passim) also have useful statements.

5. The local Megarian tradition of the flood of Deucalian (Paus. 1. 40. 1, Dieuciδas--F.H.G. IV. 388, M.) may be a reminiscence of the original condition of the country when the Megarian plain was submerged beneath the sea. Cf. Iolling in Ath. Mitt. V. (1880). p.8. The story of the flood is discussed in connection with the mythical kings. See below Chapter V.

6. Cf. Reingaüum, op cit. pp. 5-6.

7. See Philippson (op. cit. pp. 18-28) for the detailed treatment of Mt.

Geraneia. Frazer (Comm. on Paus. 1. 44. 3 in his Pausanias's Desc. of Greece, II. p. 540) gives the elevation of the acropolis Caria as 886 feet and that of the acropolis Alcathoa as 951 feet.

8. As at Argos, Athens and Eleusis. It was about 7 or 8 miles square. Iolling (Geographie u. Polit. Gesch. p. 121) says that it is 15 km. wide. Unfortunately no exact measurements of Megaris are available. The plain is well shown by Zimmern (The Greek Commonwealth.[3] opp. page 41).

9. Cf. Gräber, Ath. Mitt. XXX (1905). 59. For Greek streams in general see Zimmern, The Greek Commonwealth,[3] 39-42. The Greek rivers and the Oriental waddies were of about the same character.

10. Isocrates (De Pace, 117) says that the Megarians tilled mere stones (πέτρας γεωργοῦντες). The entire passage is rhetorical but important for the topography of Megaris, and worth quoting in full: καὶ διὰ τίνας αἰτίας..... Μεγαρεῖς δὲ μικρῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ φαύλων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπαρξάντων, καὶ γῆν μὲν οὐχ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ λιμένας οὐδ' ἀργυρεῖα, πέτρας δὲ γεωργοῦντες, μεγίστους οἴκους τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέκτηνται;

Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. II. 8. 1) speaks of one Section of Megaris as thin (λεπτόγειος). Much of the soil is clayey, as we saw in the geological survey; and chalky according to modern travellers (Dodwell, A Class. and Topogr. Tour Through Greece, I. 176.) Steph. Byz. (s.v. Μέγαρα) thinks the city may have been given its name διὰ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς χώρας. Strabo (9. 1. 8, 393) compares it with Attica and calls it παράλυπρος. But in what sense could Isocrates say that it was without harbors? Compare above.

11. That it was more fruitful in ancient times than in modern (Reingauum, op. cit. p. 9) is only natural as the exhaustion of its limited soil would take

place very rapidly. After the sixth century B.C. and the loss of Salamis it declined rapidly. Modern Megara cultivates the grape and olive, and raises wheat, rye, and barley (F.G. and A.C.H. Allinson, Greek Lands and Letters, p. 105.). The fig is also still a staple product. For a detailed discussion of the natural products of Megara see the chapter on "Natural Products and Industries."

12. Discussed more fully below in connection with the topography of Minoa and Nisaea. For the location of the marshes see Casson's plan in B.S.A. Annual XIX (1912-13). 71, the climatic map of Zimmern (op. cit., facing p. 41), and Frazer's Pausanias II. p. 540. Marsh land also existed along the south-western coast (see below p. 15 and note 63), and in the neighborhood of Aegosthena (Fursian, op. cit. I. p. 381).

13. Schol. on Aristoph. Acharn. 760: ἐν Νισαίᾳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ἅλες τήκονται. The salt industry is discussed in the chapter on "Natural Products and Industries." According to some geologists the Mediterranean was once a chain of salt lakes. The salt-district about Nisaea was no doubt a salt-pan of the kind commonly found in the Mediterranean area. For this character of the Mediterranean see Zimmern, op. cit. pp. 24-25.

14. In a little book called Malaria by Jones, Ross, and Elliott, London 1907, an attempt was made to show that malaria was an important but neglected factor in the history of Greece and Rome. It was pointed out that the disease causes, among other things, anaemia and general depression with a lowering of vitality, hence general decline of all the powers of the individual. It is caused by certain parasites in the blood which are conveyed by gnats that breed in pools of stagnant water and are especially prolific in hot sections. Greece, because of its valleys and small plains, was especially fitted to be the home of the disease. Malaria was probably introduced into Greece at

the time of the Greek invasions of Asia and Africa. From 400 B.C. onward as the evidence to be found in Plato, Aristotle and Hippocrates as well as later writers tends to show, the disease had become malignant and widely spread in Greece. Modern Greece is intensely malarious with about 40% of its population affected.

It would be unwise to argue too much from modern conditions but it is interesting to note that the anaemia of the modern Megarians has not escaped the attention of travellers. Bodwell (Tour Through Greece, 1801-6, II. 177) says: "Megara is a miserable town-------The soil is generally sterile and the climate insalubrious." Frazer (Pausanias, II. p. 552) notes the sickly appearance of the inhabitants of the southwestern coast near the Corinthian border. It may be significant therefore that the Megarian poet Theognis (173-4) links malaria (ἠπίαλος) and old age together as second only to poverty in their destructive power. (See Jones, Foss, Elliott, op. cit. p. 24 and Hudson-Williams, ad. loc.). We know that Vergil contracted some disorder in Megara and died from the effects of it. And perhaps there may be seen something more than mere local patriotism in the long list of heroes and heroines who "died in Megara". See below. In 45 B.C. Servius Sulpicius had visited the ruins at Megara (Cicero Fam. 4. 5) as had Vergil.

15. This point is discussed fully in the chapter dealing with the Peloponnesian War, where it is especially important.

16. See Heinganum's map (op. cit. facing p. 184) and compare Zimmern (op.cit. facing p. 41).

17. His tour of Megaris is described in I. 39. 4--end. Strabo has some important statements concerning the sea-coast regions but he probably never visited the country. (Cf. Heller in Cl. Ph. I. (1906). 339-356). Thucydides

helps us on the topography of certain sections. There are also occasional statements in various ancient writers. Modern travellers are of assistance in describing the ancient ruins; and recent excavations, though very limited in extent, have corrected or supplemented our previous knowledge. But, owing also to the fact that Megaris has suffered so severely at the hands of succeeding invaders, it is impossible to determine the exact location of most of the buildings and other monuments that Pausanias describes. Hence it has seemed best in the present study to follow his order of description for the most part, supplementing it wherever possible from other sources.

The principal modern authorities on topography are the following:

Commentaries.

Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece, London 1898. Vol. I and II.

Hitzig--Blümner, Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio, Leipzig 1896. Vol. I.

Books of Travel.

Dodwell, Tour of Greece, London 1819. Vol. II.

Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, London, 1835. Vol. II.

Special Treatises.

Reingaum, Das alte Megaris, Berlin 1825.

Fursian, Geographie von Griechenland, Leipzig, 1862. Vol. I.

Robert, Pausanias als Schriftsteller, Berlin, 1909.

Kalkmann, Pausanias der Perieget, Berlin, 1886.

Gurlitt, Ueber Pausanias, Graz, 1890.

Casson, Annual of the Brit. School at Athens, Vol. XIX. (1912-13). pp. 70-81.

Lolling, Athenische Mittheilungen, Vol. V. (1880). pp. 1-19.

'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, pp. 201-216; 1890, pp. 65-68.

Polte and Weicker, Athenische Mittheilungen, Vol. XXIX. (1904). pp. 79-100.

Philios, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, pp. 21-56.

Special articles in the dictionaries and lexicons will be cited under special topics.

18. All criticism of myths and stories told by Pausanias in connection with a monument is reserved for the chapter on the history of Megara.

19. The origin of the name Megara is discussed below. See the chapter on the "Mythical Kings and the Heroic Age." "Megara" is probably the earliest name of the city and pre-Dorian.

20. Frazer (Pausanias. II. p. 548) gives the height of the acropolis Alcathoa as 951 feet and of the acropolis Caria as 886 feet. The saddle between the two is 492 feet high. Both hills were of about the same height as the Acrocorinthus and much higher than the Acropolis at Athens.

21. Megara is a typically Mycenaean site. Its situation--more than a mile from the sea--, its two acropolises located on the edge of a fertile plain recall other Mycenaean sites such as Tiryns and Mycenae. (See Tsountas--Manatt, The Mycen. Age. pp. 12-13). Furthermore, Mycenaean sherds have been found rather abundantly on Minoa although without stratification. (See the chapter on Art; Ath. Mitt. 29 (1904). 95; Fimmen, Die Kretisch--Mykenische Kultur, p. 9. The sherds were found on Minoa not Nisaea, as given by Fimmen. See below on the topography of Minoa and Nisaea). Remains of Cyclopean walls are still to be seen on the acropolis Caria (Fimmen, op. cit. p. 9). Finally, the historical and religious traditions all point to the settlement of Megara in Mycenaean times. See below, "The Mythical Kings and the Heroic Age.".

22. See plate VII, in Ath. Mitt. XXV, (1900). A full account of the excavations which unearthed the fountain-house and the aqueduct in part, is given in the chapter on Architecture. About half a mile north of the acropolis Alcathoa is still to be seen, an aqueduct giving an abundant supply of water. Beside it are the ancient washing-troughs, for the most part still in use. Frazer and

Hitzig--Plümner (On Paus. 1. 40. 1) after Pursian (Geographie, I. 374) identified this with the fountain-house of Theagenes but the situation alone is enough to discredit this identification. Theagenes would naturally locate so important a building in as central a point as possible and the foundations of the building unearthed by Delbrück in 1899 (Ath. Mitt. XXV. (1900). 23-33) fulfill this requirement. Theagenes' undertaking was probably the first attempt to furnish an extensive water supply in Megara.

23. Paus. I. 40. 2, 44. 2. According to Herodotus (IX. 14) the Persian cavalry under Mardonius had ravaged the territory of Megaris and had even attacked Megara. See further Chapter II. of this monograph. The statue of Artemis here was made by Strongylion. Praxiteles also had made a group of the Twelve Gods.

24. Paus. I. 40. 4, 5. Pausanias' description of its location is vague. Pursian (op. cit. I. 374) found on the northwest slope of the acropolis Caria some gray limestone blocks built into walls some ancient, some modern, and containing inscriptions that seemed to indicate that the blocks originally formed part of the boundary walls of the sacred precinct. See Collitz--Bechtel, S.G.D.I. III, Nos. 3004-3014 and I.G. VII. 1-14. A gymnasiarch of the Olympieum is also mentioned in Collitz--Bechtel, III. No. 3024-- I.G. VII. 31. Cf. Frazer on Paus. I. 40.4. Hitzig--Plümner in their note on this passage of Pausanias accept the above identification as the probable site of the Olympieum but erroneously state that Reingauum (op. cit. p. 126 f.) so identified it. The latter, both in the text and on his map (facing p. 184), located it at the foot of the south slope of the acropolis Caria. (See next note). He does, however, place a temple of Zeus Olympius at the northwest slope of Caria. See his map.

25. Paus. I. 40. 6. Robert (Pausanias als Schriftsteller, p. 177 and note 3) would add a sixth temple to the list -- that of Asclepius. He calls special

attention to the variety of phraseology. Pausanias says: ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι ..... ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἱερόν, καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον, καὶ Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρον.

Robert would take the expression τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα to indicate that Asclepius had a temple here. But this is not necessary as statues of divinities frequently stood in the open. We have no other indication of a temple of Asclepius at Megara. See further Chapter II. Cults, s.v. Asclepius and Hygeia. It is true that variety of style often leading to ambiguity is characteristic of Pausanias (Frazer, Pausanias's Desc. of Greece, I. p. LXX; cf. Robert, op. cit. pp. 201-216).

This ascent of the acropolis probably took place by a road that left it a short distance north of the fountain-house of Theagenes, passed across the saddle between the two hills and led up the acropolis Alcathoa on the opposite side (Cf. note 21, and see plate VII. in Ath. Mitt. XXV. (1900). As we descend by a road on the north of Caria, such a route for the ascent seems to harmonize best with the topography in general.

26. This completes the circuit of the acropolis Caria and we have returned practically to our starting-point. The section I. 40. 1, 41. 1 of Pausanias's description may be regarded as the first of four main divisions dealing with the topography of Megara and its environs (Cf. Robert, op. cit. pp. 184. f.)

27. Paus. I. 41, 2. Pausanias' guide explained the word Ῥοῦς as a deriva-

tive of ῥέω, "to flow," because, as he said, Theagenes the tyrant had turned aside the streams that flowed this way after they left the mountain. But to compensate for diverting the course of the streams Theagenes had erected an altar to Acheloüs in Thus. While the explanation looks like a bit of popular etymology there is probably some truth in the statement that Theagenes diverted the course of the mountain streams. Excavation has shown that the water supply for his famous fountain-house was derived from the mountainous district lying to the north of the city (See p. 9, and the chapter on Architecture s.v. Aqueducts). We do not know the precise location of Thus, but it was apparently only a short distance north of the acropolises (See Fursian, op. cit. I. 376). Compare next note.

28. Robert (op. cit. p. 178) makes this temple of Apollo and Artemis the centre about which turns the second section of Pausanias' tour of Megara. The temple of Isis was close to it, and both sanctuaries were apparently located on a hill or eminence of some kind. The ascent begins immediately after the mention of the grave of Hyllus (οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ὕλλου μνήματος Ἴσιδος ναός), and the descent with the grave of Pandion (ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδίονός ἐστιν ἡρῷον). Since Plutarch (Thes. 27) tells us that the Megarians point out "the grave of the Amazons" along the road leading from their market-place to Thus, it seems reasonable to identify the μνῆμα Ἱππολύτης of Pausanias with the Ἀμαζόνων θήκη of Plutarch. The latter states that this θήκη is shown ὅπου τὸ Ῥομβοειδές. Pausanias describes the grave of Hippolyte thus: καί οἱ τοῦ μνήματος σχῆμά ἐστιν Ἀμαζονικῇ ἀσπίδι ἐμφερές.

It is not necessary to look for geometric exactness in such descriptions and

if we conclude, as is generally done, that both Plutarch and Pausanias are probably describing the same grave, it is evident that Pausanias has returned to the point whence he set out on this second tour. The section I. 41. 2-9 thus forms the second division of the Τεθριππίς Μεγαδική

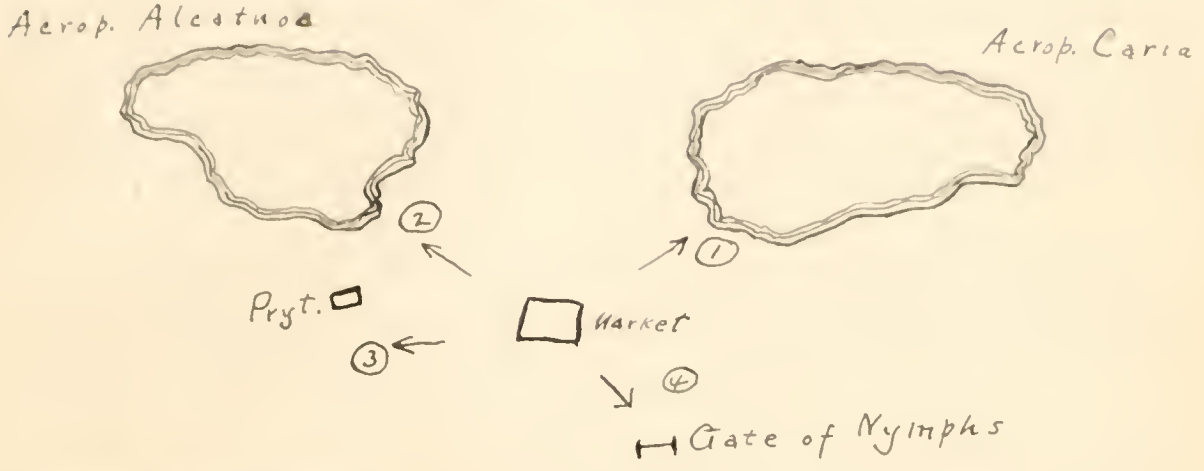
For the discussion of the identification of Ῥωμαῖοι and Ἀμαζονικὴ ἀσπίδι ἔμφερες in the above cited passages, see the notes by Frazer and Hitzig-Blümner.

29. Paus. I. 42. 1, 43. 6. The description is begun without any transitional expression. But the ascent, the tour of the summit, and the descent are clearly indicated. See Robert, op.cit. pp. 179, 184 f. The ascent was made by the road on the eastern slope.

30. For the discussion of this point and the dedication of the Athena temples here see the chapter on Cults s.v. Athena.

31. Paus. I. 42. 7, 44. 2. This section is not easy of interpretation and the most rational solution is to assume that the author is describing in order, as he has done previously, the various monuments that he passed after leaving the eastern slope of the acropolis on his way to the Prytaneum, thence to the market-place, and through the gate of the Nymphs toward Nisaea. In this survey the Prytaneum is the objective and centre of the first group (I. 42. 7, 43. 4); then we have mention of four temples (I. 43. 5, 4), and finally, the market-place stands out as the centre of a third group (I. 43. 7, 44. 2). (Compare Robert, op. cit. p. 184). The unity of this section, then, would consist in the continuous description beginning with the grave of Callipolis (I. 42. 7) and ending with the mention of the temple of the Ilithyiae (I. 44. 2). But Robert (op. cit. p. 185) would consider the market-place as the central point just as he makes this the centre from which Pausanias moves throughout his entire survey of Megara. That is, from the central point of the market-place

Pausanias first visited Caria and its environs (I. 40. 1, 41. 1); then Alcathoa and its environs (I. 42. 1, 43. 6) with the description of the district about Rhus (I. 41. 2-9) as a kind of episode; then the Prytaneum with its neighboring monuments (I. 42. 7, 43. 4); and finally the Gymnasium by the gate of the Nymphs (I. 44. 2). Represented graphically it would be:



32. Note the phraseology: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἰόντων ---- ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ ---- τοῦ πρυτανείου ---- πλησίον.

Compare Robert, op. cit. p. 179.

33. Paus. I. 43. 1: λέγουσι δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἡρῷον ---- ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἄδραστος τιμάς ---- καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὃ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν ἡνίκα ἦλθε Κάλχαντα εἰκόντα ἐν Μεγάροις ἐς Ἴλιον ἕπεσθαι πείσων.

Robert (op. cit. pp. 179 ff.) sees much needless difficulty in the text here. After mentioning other versions of the Iphigenia story that are not in harmony with the Megarian claim, Pausanias mentions the worship of Adrastus and then speaks of the temple of Artemis built by Agamemnon. Since the worship of Iphigenia and the temple of Artemis naturally stand in close relationship, the insertion of ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι

καὶ Ἄδραστος τιμᾶς does seem rather strange unless Pausanias is describing the exact order in which he came to the three monuments -- a question that can be answered by excavation alone, as Robert well observes. The latter, however, feels that the difficulty is so great as to demand a change of text which he suggests as follows: φάναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν παρθένον Ἰφιγένειαν εἶναι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν, ἡνίκα ἦλθε Κάλχαντα οἰκοῦντα ἐν Μεγάροις ἐς Ἴλιον ἕπεσθαι πείσων.

But it seems to me that the language of Pausanias here is no more unusual than in many places and is perhaps only another example of his exceptional phraseology to which Robert has devoted a chapter.

34. Paus. I. 43. 3: Εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν (οἱ Μεγαρέων) ἐν τῇ πόλει, κ.τ.λ.

This sentence has given much difficulty. All the MSS. read the dative form Μεγαρεῦσιν except one (L), which has the genitive. There is very little difference in the sense, whether we choose one case or the other as Pausanias' meaning seems to be clear enough. Practically all of the graves that he has mentioned so far on the present tour are the graves of heroes or heroines: ἡρῷα of Ino, Iphigenia; Adrastus ἔλεε ..... τιμᾶς. But he now speaks of the τάφοι of ordinary human beings who lost their lives in war. They were Megarians in the strict sense whereas the others mentioned were illustrious personalities appropriated from the legendary circles of the Trojan War or Thebes. Reinganum (op. cit. pp. 131 f., and map facing p. 184), however, construed the passage to mean that since P. describes the graves of Megarians as being <u>inside</u> the city the preceding group must have been <u>outside</u> the city walls. Hence he places the graves of Callipolis, Ino,

Iphigenia, Adrastus along with the Rock of Demeter and the Prytaneum at the foot of the acropolis Alcathoa outside the walls. Robert (op.cit. p. 191) thinks that several words have dropped out of the text which he constructs to read thus: εἰσὶ δὲ [καὶ πλείκόνων ἔν κοινῷ] τάφοι Μεγαρέων ἔν τῇ πόλει

Frazer in his translation (Pausanias's Desc. of Greece, I. p. 65) avoids the difficulty by rendering the sentence: "There are graves in the city of Megara." And in a note on the passage (op. cit. II. p. 533 ff.) he calls attention to the apparent irregularity of burying any but illustrious personages within the city walls, but cites other instances of the practice. These fallen Megarians, however, were heroes to their fellow-countrymen in the literal sense of the word as we learn from an epigram probably composed by Simonides (See Hicks and Hill, Gk. Hist. Insc. No. 17). They had fought at Artemisium, Mycale, Salamis, and Plataea.

35. The question has been raised whether the Aesymnium was a separate building or whether it was in some way identified with the Senate House mentioned in 42. 4, which had crowded out the grave of Timalcus. That the Senate House was near the eastern slope of the acropolis Alcathoa is clear from Pausanias' description. And Robert (op. cit. p. 182) thinks that the Senate House, Aesymnium and Prytaneum were separate buildings but grouped close together. He argues that when Pausanias (I. 43. 3) uses the word βουλευτήριον of the Aesymnium, he is not employing it in a technical sense but simply with reference to the words of the oracle: Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν ἢν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλεύσωσιν. That is, it is the building for the meeting of a deliberative body. Wilzig-Blümner (I. p. 371) also consider the two to be separate buildings. Töpffer (in Pauly - Wissowa Real-Enc., s.v. Aisymnetes), however, considers them

the same building and Frazer (II. p. 534) thinks that the Aesymnium was a room within the Senate House. But the description of Pausanias is sufficiently clear to indicate that the Aesymnium and Senate House were separate buildings although we need not place them along with the Prytaneum in one group at the eastern slope of the acropolis (Cf. Robert, ibid.). For the function of the Aisymnetes see Chapter VII.

36. Paus. I. 43. 6. Pausanias does not say whose temple this was, but the sculptured group indicates that it belonged to Zeus. See the chapter on Cults s.v. Zeus. Robert (op. cit. p. 183, and n. 1) calls it the temple of the Muses.

37. Paus. I. 43. 7-8. The name of the town is variously given as Tripodiscus (Thucy. 4. 70; Steph. Byz.), Tripodisci (Paus. I. 43. 7, 8; Steph. Byz.), Tripodoi or Tripodiscium (Strabo IX. 1. 10, 394; Conon, Narr. 19). It lay at the foot of Mt. Geraneia about six miles northwest of Megara. Its situation placed it on the shortest route from Delphi to the Isthmus. It was one of the five original villages in Megaris. See further Chapter VI. (Leake, Travels in Northern Greece II. pp. 410 f.; Pursian, Geographie, I. 380 f.).

Tripodiscus was the reputed home of Susarion, founder of Megarian--Attic comedy.

38. These are given in Anth. Pal. VII. 154:

Εἰς Κόσσου ζον.

Κοσσὸν ἐπὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἰναχίδαισιν ἄθυρμα
ἴδρυμεν Ψαμάθης ἔνδικον οὐδομένης·
εἰμὶ δὲ τῆς Τομβούχος· ὁ δὲ κτείνας με Κόσσος
λείπει δ' ἐν σπουδαῖς ποσσὶ διὰ τρίποδα·
Δελφὶς γάρ μ' ἔφάμα τόδ' ἐθέσπισεν ὄφρα γενοίμαν
τᾶς κείνου νύμφας σῆμα καὶ ἱστορίης.

$$\frac{\lambda \omega \cdot \pi}{N}$$

39. See further, Chap. V, where the epigram is given; Hicks and Hill, Greek Historical Inscriptions, p. 3

40. Since Pausanias speaks of this as the old Gymnasium, it is probable that the gymnasium mentioned in I. 40. 4 was built later. It was located within the sacred precinct of the Olympieum. See note 23.

South of the depression that separates the two acropolises was found the stone pedestal that supported three statues. Inscriptions show that two of these statues represented masters of the Gymnasium. See Collitz--Bechtel, S.G.D.I. No. 3018 a, b, and Prosopographia s.v. Νομιάδαν Καλλινείκου and Καλλίνεικον Νομιάδα.

The inscriptions apparently distinguished the two gymnasia as they frequently speak of the master of the gymnasium ἐν Ὀλυμπιείῳ. See the ISS. cited in note 23. The location of the old gymnasium as given by Reingaûum on his map is no doubt the correct one.

41. Paus. I. 44. 2: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.

The epithet Καρινόν gives difficulty. See the discussion in the chapter on Cults s.v. Apollo.

42. Spratt was the first to give the correct identification of Minoa in 1838. His identification of both Minoa and Nisaea was generally accepted, and in 1880 Lolling (in Ath. Mitt. V. pp. 1-19) reviewed the various theories that had been held up to that time on the subject, at the same time giving additional arguments for Spratt's view. In 1904, however, Fölte and Weicker attempted to show (in Ath. Mitt., XXIX. pp.79-100) that the position of the two places should be reversed and that the present Hill of St. George was

ancient Minoa, while Nisaea must have been located on the small hill surmounted by the mediaeval castle. Put Casson (in B.S.A. XIX. 1912-13, pp. 70-81) has defended the view of Spratt by showing that both topographical features and the campaign during the Peloponnesian War harmonize best with the original identification.

43. Paus. I. 44. 3: παρήκει δὲ παρὰ τὴν Νίσαιαν νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη.

44. Thucy. III. 51. 1: Ἀθηναῖοι ----- ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μινῴαν τὴν νῆσον ἣ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων.

iv. 67. 1: οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ----- πλεύσαντες ἐς Μινῴαν τὴν Μεγαρέων νῆσον.

In III. 51. 3 he says: τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας ἀπετείχιξε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἢ κατὰ χέρσιαν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν τῇ νήσῳ οὐ πολὺ διεχούσῃ τῆς ἠπείρου.

45. Thucy. III. 51. 3, 4. τὸν ἔσπλουν ---- ἐλευθερώσας.

46. Strabo IX. 1. 4, 391.

47. Paus. I. 44. 4.

48. Thucy. IV. 67. 2, 118. 4.

49. Paus. I. 44. 4. Pölte and Weicker (Ath. Mitt. XXIX. (1904), p. 93) would identify the grave of Lelex with the remains of heavy blocks found at the northwest point of the rocky ridge extending from Nisaea (i.e. Minoa according to the identification accepted in this monograph) down to the plain.

50. For details see the chapter on Art. Excavations were carried out by Iolling and are described by him in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887-88, pp. 201-216. See also Philios Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890. pp. 22-56, and Iolling's reply ibid. pp. 56-62.

51. Paus. I. 44. 9. Telephanes was a contemporary and friend of Demosthenes

(See Dem. XXI. 17). He is mentioned by Athenaeus (351 c), and Micarchus composed an epigram for his stone (Auth. Pal. VII. 159), in which he classed him with Orpheus, Nestor and Homer.

52. See Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887, pp. 207-8.

53. See Philios in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, pp. 25-28.

54. In Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, p. 62.

55. Paus. I. 44. 9: καὶ Κᾶρός τοῦ Φοσωνέως μνῆμά ἐστι, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χωσάντων ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης λίθῳ κογχίτῃ ----- ἔστι δὲ ἄγαν λευκὸς καὶ ἄλλου λίθου μαλακώτερος.

The last sentence is especially pertinent, and the grave of Car may be another illustration of the perishable character of Megarian buildings to which Dodwell (Tour of Greece, II. p. 178) called special attention. See further, the chapter on Art. s.v. Materials.

56. Strabo IX. 1. 4.

57. See Alciphron III. 70.

58. Herodotus VIII. 71

59. Paus. I. 44. 10.

60. Paus. I. 44. 11-12. This is the Athenian tradition concerning Sciron and quite different from the Megarian account (Paus. I.44. 10). This double character of Sciron is discussed in Chapter V.

61. Paus. I. 44. 13: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ Διός ἐστιν Ἀφεσίου καλουμένου ναός.

The meaning of the epithet Ἀφέσιος is discussed in the chapter on Cults s.v. Zeus.

62. Paus. I. 44. 14. This is one of several stories.

63. Paus. I. 44. 14.

64. See Frazer on Paus. I. 44. 10.

65. The form of the name was Κρομμυών (Strabo VIII. 6. 22, 379; IX. 1. 1, 4. Paus. II. 1. 3. Thucy. IV. 42, 44; Xen. Hell. IV. 4. 13, 5. 19) or sometimes Κρεμμύων (Steph. Byz. s.v.). The town was named no doubt after the onion (κρόμυον, κρόμμυον) which was an important product of the district and not from Κρόμμος , son of Poseidon (Paus. II. 1. 3). Cf. Fursian (op. cit. I. p. 384).

66. Thucy. IV. 45.

67. Strabo VIII. 6. 22.

68. Strabo IX. 1. 6.

69. Diod. Sic. XII. 65. 7.

70. Paus. I. 44. 6. The form of the name was Παγαί (Strabo IX. 2. 24) or Πηγαί , in the Attic form (Thucy. I. 103). Pagae was called a παροικία Μεγαρέων (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μέγαρα), a φρούριον (Strabo VIII. 6. 22), an ἐμπόριον (Schol. on Thucy. I. 103), a πόλις (Paus. I. 44. 6, 7). It was originally, no doubt, one of the cantons (πάγοι) of Megaris. Later, when Megara became the principal city, it took a subordinate position. But finally, with the waning of Megara's prosperity, due to its position along the north coast, it became prosperous and finally independent (Cf. Tharm. De Re Publica ac Magistratibus Megarensium, p. 8). In Pausanias' account, Pagae, Aegosthena, and Erineia are described immediately after he leaves Minoa (I. 44. 6 ff.). He then returns to the south coast at I. 44. 9. But for the sake of the unity of our account we proceeded to the ruins along the road to Corinth immediately after the discussion of the topography of Nisaea and Minoa (pp. 23 ff.).

71. Thucy. I. 103, 107, 111, 115.

72. The ISS. from Pagae are given in I.G. VII. Nos. 188-206. See especially Nos. 188, 190, 193, 195. Cf. Collitz--Bechtel S.G.D.I. Nos. 3105-3113.

73. Head, Hist. Num. pp. 394, 417.

74. Paus. I. 44. 6. Cf. 40. 2, and see above pp. 9-10 with note 22.

75. The form is Τὰ Αἴγόσ θενα (Steph. Byz. Cf. Paus. I. 44. 8; Xen. Hell. V. 4. 18, VI. 4. 26).

76. They were of massive structure. See Pursian (op. cit. pp. 381 f.), Frazer on Paus. I. 44. 5; Persson, A.N. . 15 (1905). 314-324.

77. See I.G. VII. 207-284, Collitz--Bechtel, S.G.D.I. 3091-3104.

78. During Megara's period of prosperity Aegosthena was probably a mere canton (Cf. Tharm, op. cit. pp. 7-8). But later it became independent and joined the Achaean League. See following notes.

79. The Lacedaemonian army experienced its dangerous character during its retreat from Boeotia in the winter of 379-8 B.C. (Xen. Hell. V. 4. 17-18). See also Leake (op. cit. II. pp. 406-7).

80. Athen. X. 440.

81. For Melampus see the chapter on Cults, s.v.

82. Paus. I. 44.8.

83. Leake (op. cit. II. pp. 408-9) placed it on the site occupied by modern Kundura about 10 miles northeast of Megara. In any case it could not be the Castle Geraneia in the mountainous section of northwest Megaris (shown on Heingavum's map). See Pursian, op. cit. I. p. 382.

CHAPTER II.

Cults.

A study of the cults[1] shows that worship of the gods, heroes and heroines constituted and important aspect of Megarian civilizatior from the earliest times. In the present chapter we shall consider each deified personality following, so far as possible, the order of prominence.

I. Apollo.

At the head of the pantheon stood Apollo, patron god of the Dorians. While his worship was not the oldest in Megara, it was by far the most widely spread of all the deities, as we learn from literary, inscriptional and numismatic sources. According to Megarian tradition, Apollo worship was introduced by Alcathous and olosely associated with him; its first appearance therefore precedes the beginning of the Megarian state.[2] Following are the various cult-epithets by which he was worshipped.

Apollo Protector (Προστατήριος).[3] He had a temple below the market along the "Straight Road." We are not told who made the cult-statue. Other deities were represented here by statues, among them his divine sister and mother, Artemis and Leto. There was also a group called "Leto and her Children," the work of Praxiteles. A later coin of the time of Septimius Severus shows a more or less free copy of this sculptured group.[4] The epithets προστάτης and προστατήριος were probably equivalent in meaning and referred to the image of Apollo that frequently stood before houses.[5] Hence, they come to signify "defender" in general.[6] But there seems to have been no generally accepted or fixed art-form.[7]

Apollo Son-of-Leto (Λατῶος).[8] This temple was located off the Scironian Road near the Corinthian border.

Apollo and Artemis Of-the-Chase (Ἀγοραῖος and Ἀγροτέρα).[9]

local tradition said that this temple was built in their honor by Alcathous after he had slain the lion of Mt. Cithaeron. The cult probably preserves recollections of the earlier, aboriginal worship when the tribe still lived mainly by the chase.[10]

Apollo Pythius.[11] The temple was located on the Acropolis Alcathea. Originally constructed of brick it was later rebuilt by Hadrian of white marble. The lesser Pythian games were held at Megara in honor of the god.[12] In this same temple Apollo was also worshipped as Δεκατηφόρος and divine οἰκιστής (Ἀρχηγέτης). Alv[13] considers the former only a sub-epithet of Pythius and thinks it indicates the god to whom the tithe is due. But Paulsen[14] has suggested that it may have been applied to Apollo as founder of colonies (Ἀρχηγέτης); for, from the latter, a tithe was expected by the patron deity. Preller-Robert,[15] however, take it to mean simply "receiver of one-tenth" of the firstlings of flock and field, and think that it refers to Apollo as god who gives abundant crops. In this capacity he appears to have been worshipped at Argos also,[16] but otherwise the epithet is not attested outside of Megara. It seems rather absurd to connect Δεκατηφόρος with the invasion of Minos as some have tried to do,[17] for the Megarians were loathe to mention or even to admit that such an event ever took place.

In the capacity of divine οἰκιστής we have more than one reference to Apollo,[18] and it is possible to take the word as a sub-epithet of Pythius.[19] In any case it is probable that the three epithets Πύθιος, Δεκατηφόρος, Ἀρχηγέτης were intended to represent the worship of Apollo in a related sense and harmonious group.[20] On the coins[21] Apollo Pythius is represented in various ways: by the lyre, tripod, or quiver; or by the omphalos above which are eagles.

Apollo Carneios (Καρνεῖος).[22] The epithet is difficult to interpret and several explanations have been offered. By some[23] it is taken to mean "the Apollo of Car," which would make this form of Apollo worship in Megara pre-Dorian and connect it with the first mythical king. But historically this is not justified; and both the formation of the adjective and its accent are wrong if it is to be based on the stem of Κάρ.[24] To avoid the difficulty, Sylburg proposed the emendation Καρικός or Καρνεος The latter seems quite plausible because in another passage[25] Pausanias mentions the worship of the Carnein Apollo in close association with that of the Ilithyiae just as he does here. But Wide[26] would make Καρινός and Κάρνεος identical, deriving the latter from Κάρνος = ram. Hence, if the worship of Apollo Carneios was so thoroughly Dorian[27] and connected with flocks and agriculture,[28] it would be especially appropriate to Megara with its extensive rearing of sheep and goats. Farnell[29] interprets a coin[30] along with this passage of Pausanias as probably referring to Apollo Carneios. Another solution is to take Καρινός as a dialectial form of Κάρνειος .[30b] The alternative emendation Καρινός suggested by Sylburg is a common adjective form for "Carian."[31]

But we also know that the conical pillar was the emblem of the worship of Apollo Agyieus,[32] and Farnell thinks[33] that it is to this aspect of the god's worship that the monument in question should be referred. In any case, we have here a very early representation of the great Dorian god, perhaps a reminiscence of the original settlement of the Dorians in Megaris. In fact, all the cult-epithets of Apollo that we have met so far are very old descriptive of closely related functions.[34]

To what extent Apollo was worshipped in Megara under his various other aspects we cannot say. In an inscription[35] of the sixth century B.C.

he is invoked as Λύκειος. He must have been recognized as Κιθαρῳδός if we are permitted to draw any inferences from the legend of the Ringing Stone,[36] and the representations on the coins.[37] In another inscription[38] he has the epithet Μουσεῖος. He was also recognized as god of the battle[39] and lord of the spring festival.[40] There are only two hints that he may have had a cult as Smintheus.[41] The frequent appearance of the dolphin on Megarian coins,[42] especially in those cases where the head of Apollo appears on the obverse, suggests also the cult-epithet Delphinios.

The god's name appears frequently as an element in Megarian proper names. See prosopographia.

II. Artemis.

Artemis had two temples in Megaris, and along with her divine brother Apollo was worshipped in a third.

Artemis Savior (Σώτειρα).[43] This temple was near the fountain of the Sithnidian Nymphs and had been built in early times. It contained a bronze cult-statue made by Strongylion. The epithet Σώτειρα was bestowed upon the goddess because she had saved the Megarians from the Persians under Mardonius. On the coins[44] she is represented running with torches. One late coin of Pagae shows her in her temple and seems to be a copy of the present cult-statue.[45]

Artemis was frequently worshipped as a goddess of battle, as a divinity who aided the fight. And often, no doubt, her epithet Σώτειρα can be explained as due to the fact that the battle occurred in a locality where she was supposed to be powerful. Wild regions would therefore be appropriate to the idea.[46] As Pausanias tells us, the defeat of the Persians occurred in the wild, mountainous country of north Megaris.

Artemis of-the-Chase (Ἀγροτέρα).[47] In this capacity she had joint worship with Apollo. (See above page 2). Originally, however, Apollo and Artemis were not associated in cult and their worship was independent.[48] The monuments in which they are found together are practically all late. The Megarian coins represent Artemis holding bow and arrow or drawing an arrow from her quiver.[49] These too are all late. There was usually no special cult-significance in such grouping of the two divinities.[50]

Artemis of Agamemnon.[51] This temple was probably a very old one and the occasion of its erection seems to have been forgotten. Pausanias is, no doubt, relating an old local tradition when he says that Agamemnon built it before the Trojan War. The tradition was at least as old as Theognis, although the latter does not mention Calchas. This is probably one of several instances where the Megarians tried to connect themselves with the great sagas.[52] Mycenae[53] also claimed to be the birth-place of Calchas and Gruppe thinks he was undoubtedly Argive.[54] Maas[55] suggests that in later times he was confused with the eponymous founder of Calchedon.

Artemis Orthosia (Ὀρθωσία). Our source for this cult is an inscription[56] found on the base of a statue of a priestess in Megara. The epithet Ὀρθωσία seems to be equivalent to Ὀρθία [57] and according to Farnell[58] referred to the erect image that frequently represented the goddess in this capacity. But since her worship was commonly associated with some legend of bloodshed and with the name of Iphigenia, it is more likely that the epithet here refers to scourging such as took place in the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Other explanations have also been offered.[59b]

III. Demeter.

The worship of Demeter in Megara was very old, if not the very oldest. Pfister[59] is therefore justified in seeing a close connection between

Car, the first Megarian king, and Demeter. This subject will be discussed in Chapter V.

Demeter of the Μέγαρον. This temple was the oldest of the three in which Demeter was worshipped. It probably preserved the memory of the introduction of her cult into the country. The building itself, however, was probably erected in the heroic age on the plan of the μέγαρον, or king's palace.[60]

Demeter Lawgiver (Θεσμοφόρος).[61] The epithet no doubt means "giver of laws," [62] and this aspect of her worship was likewise very old.[63] But the strict political or civic sense of the word seems to have been developed in later times.[64] Demeter is represented on the coins[65] usually holding one or more torches. Such representation may be connected with the torch-service in the Thesmophoria.[66] Perhaps the thriving Megarian industry of pig-raising[67] was considerably inspired by the requirements of Demeter worship.

Demeter Malophoros (Μαλοφόρος).[68] It is a matter of considerable dispute whether the epithet means "giver of sheep" or "giver of apples (fruit)." But from Pausanias' statement the latter Megarians understood it to mean "giver of sheep" and worshipped the goddess as the one who first inspired that industry. Whatever may be the philological difficulties[69] and objections on the basis of cult-history,[70] this seems the most natural interpretation of the epithet, for we are told[71] that at the end of the fifth century sheep-raising gave most of the Megarians their livelihood, and apparently fruit-growing, apart from that of figs, was not an important industry at Megara.[72]

IV. Zeus.

Zeus was worshipped in four temples at Megara as follows:

Zeus Olympius.[73] This cult was apparently the same as that at Athens. Theocosmus, assisted by Phidias, had begun work on a chryselephantine statue of

the god, which was left unfinished. Above the head of the god were placed the Seasons and Fates. Thus Zeus was represented as controlling Destiny and governing the Seasons--the god Supreme, probably closely following the the idea of the Zeus Olympius of Phidias.[74] A coin[75] of Imperial times represents Zeus seated holding a Victory. On another coin he is seated holding an eagle. The first may well be a copy of this statue. All coins of this type are probably the conventional representation of a Seated Zeus by Phidias, as on the coins of Elis, Alexander the Great, and others. The variation between the Victory and eagle is probably due to the substitution of a simpler device such as the eagle for the more difficult representation of the Victory. But the two are equivalent in meaning.[76] The Megarian Zeus was thus the Zeus of the North, of the Hellenes.

Zeus Aphesius (Ἀφέσιος).[77] The temple was located southwest of Megara at the base of the mountains and above the road leading from Megara to Corinth.[78] The situation is significant. Various interpretations of the epithet have been given. Pausanias seems to explain it as meaning "releaser (from drought)."[79] Farnell[80] partly assents to this but rejects[81] the association of Zeus Panhellenius and Zeus Aphesius. The common cult-epithet of Zeus Sender-of-Rain is Ὄμβριος or Τέτιος .[82] But Preller-Robert[83] reject Pausanias' explanation as aetiological and suggest "Escort," "Patron-of-the-Journey." The Etymologicum Magnum[84] explains it as "Savior." Cook,[85] however, believes that Ἀφέσιος refers to some mountain-cult of Zeus going back, for its simplest and original form, to the story of Deucalion's escape from the flood after which he built an altar to the god on the mountain high above Argos. Such a temple as the present one represents the third and last state in the development of the mountain-cult of Zeus.

Zeus Conius (Κόνιος).[86] The temple was hypaethral and located on the ascent to the acropolis Caria. The epithet Κόνιος has caused difficulty. But the MSS. are almost unanimous in the reading, only one offering a variant (Κρόνιος), which is easily explained. K. F. Hermann[87] suggested the emendation Σκότιος or Χθόνιος. Hitzig-Blümner[88] think the epithet inexplainable. But it is well known that among primitive peoples causing the wind to rise or be still, according to one's purpose, is an important activity and can be controlled by the proper ceremony.[89] We may, therefore, easily connect Κόνιος with Κόνις and interpret it as meaning "Raising the dust"[90] from the more general idea of Zeus as the one who can control the winds. We have, then, another mountain-cult of Zeus with open-air altar,[91] regarded as the Bright Sky and as yet aniconic.[92]

Zeus and the Muses.[93] In early times the Muses were to Zeus what the Maenads were to Dionysus.[94] And it is only natural that in later times the cult-statues should reflect this early conception of the god.

V. Athena.

Athena was worshipped in three temples all closely grouped about the summit of the acropolis Alcathoë.

Athena Polias.[95] Pausanias does not give the cult-epithet but the suggestion of Robert[96] that this must be Athena Guardian-of-the-City harmonizes well with the eminence of the location and character of the statue. The latter was probably a frame-work of wood overlaid with gold and ivory,[97] recalling the statue of Athena Parthenos at Athens. The representation of Athena on a coin[98] seems to be a copy of this Chryselephantine statue. In the absence of a cult-epithet we are perhaps justified in seeing a very primitive[99] worship of Athena, or even pre-Hellenic.[100] All her cults in Megara go back at least to the time before she became the great goddess of Megara's neighbor and rival, Athens.

Athena Victory.[101] Her temple stood close to the preceding one, just as her function was closely associated with Athena in general.[102]

Athena of Ajax.[103] This cult-epithet was given apparently to connect her worship with the Achaean period,[104] and therefore with the Heroic Age. When this took place it is difficult to say. Some[105] think that the temple was erected after Megara gained control of Salamis. Seeliger,[106] however, believes that the list of Megarian kings was composed about 200 B.C. under the influence of Hellenistic politics and at the time when Megara belonged to the Amphictyony of Onchestus. In that case we would have a late tradition to explain the origin of the cult. If we can judge by a coin, the statue of Athena was probably archaic. On this she is shown erect with spear in raised right hand and shield on left arm. The figure is rather archaic and stiff and may well be a copy of Athena Alcis.[107]

Athena Aithuia.[108] Athena was sometimes worshipped as a goddess of commerce or of the storm and waves, as, for instance, at Sunium and other promontories.[109] Here she may have been identified with the gull since the epithet αἴθυια means "sea-gull," and probably refers to her function as protecting ships.[110] According to Hesychius,[111] the Megarians worshipped Athena under this title because on one occasion she had changed herself into a diver-bird and had carried Cecrops into Megara, hiding him under her wings. The vases often represent the goddess accompanied by a bird with a woman's face.[112] On one of these vases the word ΦΟΥΣ occurs, which is thought to be equivalent to αἴθυια .[113] The bluff of Athena Aithuia is probably to be identified with the point jutting out into the sea on the south side of the hill of Nisaea.[114]

Athena Giver-of-Booty (Λητῖτις). An inscription[115] of the fifth century B.C. reads:

[Τ]οίδε ἀπὸ λα[ί]ας τὰν δεκά[τ]αν ἀνεθέκαν Ἀθ[ά]ναι.

This line is an hexameter. As a war goddess Athena is especially celebrated in ancient hymns and sagas, and in the Iliad.[116]

VI. Aphrodite.

Aphrodite was a pre-Hellenic divinity[117] and it is probable that her worship was introduced into Megara at an early period. Her two temples were located on the acropolis Caria. Her worship, however, does not seem to have been very extensive. But she did have some illustrious followers in the persons of Aspasia, Lais, Nicarete and Simaetha although it is not likely that the Megarians pursued the worship of the goddess of love any more fervently than did the other Greeks.[118]

Aphrodite Praxis.[119] This temple was called the Aphrodisium[120] and was probably located below the Town-hall.[121] The epithet Πράξις refers to her function as goddess who gives success in love.[122] The cult-statue was made of ivory and was the oldest in the sculptured group. Praxiteles had also made statues of Persuasion and Exhortation, while Scopas had sculptured the group consisting of Love, Longing and Yearning. Such companions frequently accompanied Aphrodite and are after seen on the vases.[123]

Aphrodite Epistrophia.[124] This epithet probably meant "turning the heart to love."[125] An inscription[126] belonging to the time of the Achaean League informs us that the Δαμιοῦργοι of Megara made offering to the goddess. Her cult was carried to Chalcedon and Byzantium, Megarian Black Sea colonies.

VII. Dionysus.

The introduction of the worship of Dionysus into Megara seems to have taken place at an early time if we credit the tradition that it was closely connected with Alcathous.[127]

Dionysus Patrous (Πατρῶος).[128] So far as we know, Megara was the only Greek community that honored him as ancestral god.[129] According to

legend, his worship was introduced during the reign of Alcathous. Polyeidus, great-grandson of Melampus the Seer, erected this temple when he visited the city to cleanse Alcathous of pollution incurred through the murder of his son. This story seems to combine the idea of Dionysus worship coming from the north with its introduction by the Minyans.[130] The cult-statue was a wooden image (ξόανον) veiled except about the head.

Dionysus Dasyllius (Δασύλλιος).[131] In the above temple Pausanias also saw another statue of the god which had been set up by Euchenor, grandson of Polyaedus. The epithet has been variously interpreted. It may refer to him as god of vegetation in general, or of tree-life;[132] as deity of the spring,[133] or as one who causes the vines to put forth leaves; therefore, god of the vine par excellence.[134]

Dionysus Nyctelius (Νυκτέλιος).[135] The epithet probably refers to his worship at night and then to his character as chthonic deity.[136] If the latter is true, this is the only record we have of a public cult to Dionysus as a chthonic deity. But as a god who arises from the earth he could easily be regarded as chthonic.

VIII. Poseidon.

We hear practically nothing of the worship of Poseidon. Thucydides[137] mentions his temple, which must have been near the south coast and only a short distance east of Minoa. As Poseidon was an early pre-Hellenic deity[138] his worship may have become eclipsed, especially after Megara's flourishing over-sea trade began to wane.

IX. Enyalius.[139]

Our only reference to this cult is the bare mention by Thucydides of the Enyalium which stood probably close to the sea and just outside the Long Wall connecting Minoa with Megara.

X. The Eilithyiae.[140]

The temple was near the old gymnasium and apparently associated closely with the pillar of Apollo Carinus. The name was originally an abstract singular but later became pluralized.[141] We have here, then, the personification of an abstract idea and consequent deification. Of similar origin are the goddesses Tyche and Hygeia.

XI. Tyche.[142]

The cult-statue was made by Praxiteles. Although Pausanias does not mention a cult-epithet, it is probable that she was worshipped in the usual sense as a goddess of plenty, for the coins[143] of Megara represent her wearing a mural crown and holding a patera and cornucopia. She stands beside or facing an altar. This representation may be based upon the statue of Praxiteles but the divice of the mural crown is probably late although not necessarily a product of Roman influence. For the Greeks were well acquainted with the idea of Tyche in her general aspects as well as in application to cities, and her temples were found in many places.[144] It is quite possible that Megara's commercial prosperity, which was at its height during the seventh and sixth centuries, had much to do with developing the personality of this early abstraction.[145]

XII. The Twelve Gods.[146]

They had no separate temple but statues of them had been made by Praxiteles[147] and set up in the temple of Artemis Savior. Such worship of the divine Canon was likewise found at Athens and Thelpusa.[148]

XIII. The Προδομεῖς Θεοί.[149]

In honor of these divinities a ἑστία had been erected along the road leading up the acropolis Alcathoa and near to the Singing Stone. There has been considerable discussion of the meaning of the epithet Προδομεῖς. Siebelis would substitute for it Πρόδομοι, since the singular form

προδομεύς is not otherwise found. This would make θεοὶ πρόδομοι = θεοὶ προπύλαιοι or προθύραιοι ; hence Höfer[150] concludes that by θεοὶ προδομεῖς were meant θεοὶ πρόδομοι = προθύραιοι , such as Artemis and Hecate. Frazer[151] translates the word "builders before," whatever that may mean, and Hitzig-Blümner[152] understand it to represent the gods invoked before the building was started. Farnell[153] suggests that these θεοὶ προδ. may have been a group of homeless "functional" δαίμονες , who must be appeased before a city could be built, but rather inclines to the explanation that they were the deities whose statues "stood before the houses"---Apollo, Artemis, or Hecate. The Etymologicum Magnum[154] states that the θεοὶ προδομεῖς were associated with the πρόδομος or πρόδομον = λίθουσα of Homer.

The context of the Pausanias passage requires a meaning for προδομεῖς which will connect it with the gods of the city life, just as is suggested by the Etymologicum Magnum. Alcathous is represented as coming from Elis to build (i.e., re-build) the walls of Megara. Apollo, as divine οἰκιστης , assists him.[155] Hence, in accordance with the practice of founding a colony, a sacred ἑστία must be set up as the centre of the new community life. Our passage probably means, then, that Alcathous here established a ἑστία to the gods of the city hearth, represented pre-eminently by Apollo[156] and we may interpret the epithet προδομεῖς as meaning the gods "of the public hearth."

XIV. The Sithnidian Nymphs.[157]

There seems to have been a cult of these divinities although we are not told specifically that formal worship was offered to them. The water nymphs

seldom had temples as such, but a spring-house like this famous structure built by Theagnus would be a natural monument to them. In fact, their worship must have been of considerable importance since legend declared that Megarus was the son of a Bithnidian nymph and Zeus. We have already mentioned the Gate of the Nymphs, through which the road led to Nisaea, and an inscription of the fourth century A.D. speaks of some repairs to the Τόπος Νυμφῶν. Votive reliefs represent the worship of the Nymphs and Achelous.[158]

XV. Asclepius and Hygieia.[159]

These divinities, who were commonly grouped together, seem to have been worshipped only by statues in the open air and not by temples, as at Athens and Epidaurus. Their statues were erected near or on the summit of the acropolis Caria, a location characteristic of Asclepius worship. We have previously argued against Robert's view that Pausanias' mention of ἀγάλματα here implies a temple.[160] Late coins[161] represent the two divinities together.

XVI. The Oracle of Night.[162]

This was located in the midst of a group of temples situated along the road leading to the top of the acropolis Caria. It was apparently near the temples of Dionysus Nyctelius and Zeus Conius. Rohde[163] would connect this oracle with Dionysus who, according to his belief, preceded Apollo at Delphi as interpreter by means of the tripod. Hall[164] would see in such an oracle the old non-Indo-European stratum of religion.

XVII. Pan.[165]

His statue was found in the temple of Zeus Aphesius and on a relief to the nymphs (see following cult) he is represented stooping and peering into a cave as he plays upon his syrinx.

While the worship of Pan seems to have attained national significance only in Arcadia, we should rather expect to find it well established in a

country such as Megaris famous for its goats and sheep. However, the Pan cult did not penetrate outside communities, except Athens, before the fourth century, B.C.[166] and by that time Megarian industry was greatly on the wane.

XVIII. Hermes and the Nymphs.

Like Pan, Hermes was worshipped prominently only in Arcadia. In fact, he is frequently grouped in cult with Pan and the Nymphs. But the only evidence for his worship in Megara is a relief[167] representing a cave and made of Pentelic marble. The style points to the fourth century B.C. In the centre is represented a round altar about which Hermes and three Nymphs are dancing toward the left. Hermes is clad in short himatium and wears the petasus. His right hand is held out before him as if it grasped the herald-staff while his left hand appears to hold the corner of a garment, perhaps his chlamys. The other corner is held by one of the nymphs. A second nymph seems to stand in the background, between Hermes and the nymph just mentioned, as a spectator. Her right hand is under her cloak while her left grasps the chiton of the leading nymph. A third nymph accompanies the dance led by the first on the right, her left arm propped on her hip. On the rocky edge projecting over the cave at the lower left-hand corner is the head of Achelous more than life-size. Above it is the form of Pan stooping and peering into the cave as he plays upon his syrinx. Such cave-worship belongs to the primeval, pastoral character of Hermes and in this capacity he was probably regarded as posture god.[168]

XIX. Isis.[169]

We are not told at what time the cult of Isis was introduced but it was probably late. She is represented on the coins of Pagae:[170] sometimes in a temple holding sistrum and vase, or standing and facing Asclepius.

XX. Pandion.[171]

A ἡρῷον was built in his honor near the temple of Apollo and Artemis, but tradition said that his grave stood on the rock of Athens Aithyia along the sea.[172]

XXI. Tereus.[173]

His grave, a τάφος, was close to that of his father-in-law Pandion. The Megarians claimed that Tereus had been king of Pagae; but when he had tried in vain to capture the women who had killed Itys, he came to Megara and there took his life. The people raised a mound over his body and thereafter sacrificed to him each year using pebbles in place of barleycorns. And there it is, they say, that the hoopoe appeared for the first time.

This story shows that while the Megarians appropriated the Tereus myth they altered it to suit local conditions. According to the usual legend[174] he was a Thracian prince who ruled in Daulis in Phocis; and when he was about to overtake the fleeing Philomela and Procne, the former was changed into a swallow, the latter into a nightingale, and he himself into a hoopoe or hawk.

XXII. Alcathous.[175]

The racial ancestor of the Megarian state would naturally be given heroic worship. Furthermore, his ἡρῷον served as a record-office. Grouped about it were the graves of Pyrgo, his first wife, and Iphinoe, his daughter. The latter died when she was still a virgin, and to her the young Megarian women sacrificed of their hair before marriage.

XXIII. Adrastus.[176]

Local tradition claimed that he died in Megara from old age and grief over the death of his son Aegialeus, after he had returned from the siege of Thebes. This cult was found only in Megara and Sicyon and slightly in Attica. The worship of Adrastus at Megara was probably due to the influence of the Epic. His personality belongs to the human-historic saga.[177]

To the same circle of influence belonged the worship of Aegialeus at Pagae, and of Antonoe in the village Erineia, near Megara. In the second expedition against Thebes Aegialeus died in battle at Glisas, near Thebes, and his body was carried by his companions to Pagae for burial.[178] Antonoe, daughter of Cadmus, fled to Megaris because of the misfortune of her father's house and on account of the death of her son, Actaeon.[179] The saga of Actaeon seems to have been native along the coast of Boeotia.[180]

XXIV. Ino - Leucathea.[181]

This cult was indigenous in Boeotia and was probably spread through the Minyan stock and Creto-Carian influences.[182] Ino was daughter of Cadmus but as early as Homer[183] she had become a sea divinity. However, she is to be regarded primarily an earth-born, vegetation heroine-goddess of Boeotia.[184] As κουροτρόφος she was interested in the rearing and nurture of children and was thus associated with the infant Melicertes. But the epithet Λευκοθέα is not easy to explain. Megarian tradition said that it was given to her because she had leaped into the sea from the Molurian cliff near which was the καλὸς δρόμος .[185] Now Λευκοθέα seems to have been her official home in the inland Boeotian cults of Thebes and Chaeronea. Perhaps the story of her leap into the sea is an hieratic legend since it is told of Dionysus, Aphrodite and various heroic personages such as Sappho. As Ino received the epithet Λευκοθέα after her leap, it may refer to her purification in the water and may mean "White Goddess." Or, Ino may be her pre-Hellenic name, Leucothea her Hellenic equivalent.

In legend Ino was closely associated with Melicertes, who had the epithet Palaemon. Probably the latter was his Hellenic equivalent while Melicertes was the pre-Hellenic name. However, it is only on the Isthmus of Corinth that we find this cult-epithet Palaemon.[186]

XXV. Alcmena.[187]

According to the common tradition, Alcmena had come from Tiryns,[188] and the Megarian account does not seem to differ from it materially. The latter said that she died in Megara as she was on her way from Argos to Thebes. It seems, then, that her cult may have reached Megara from Thebes or Argos during the pre-Dorian period.[189] Such an heroic ancestress as Alcmena is not frequently found in the Greek states and there is no evidence that Matriarchy is at work here,[190] as *Seeliger* thought.[191]

XXVI. Iphigenia.[192]

The honors paid to Iphigenia seem to be the result of her association with the saga-genealogy of the line of Agamemnon. It is to be noted, however, that she is not here associated with Artemis, as often.[193] Nevertheless, we are told that Agamemnon built a temple to Artemis when he visited Megara. Pausanias calls attention to the variation between the common account and the Megarian story, and states that Hesiod placed her in his Catalogue of deathless women. The main influence at work, however, was doubtless the desire on the part of the Megarians to be connected with the Heroic circle.

XXVII. Diocles.

In his honor public games, the Διόκλεια , were celebrated. These were as important at Megara as were the Pythia and Eleusinia elsewhere.[194] According to Megarian belief,[195] Diocles was a Megarian ruler of Ἔλευσις. But the Alexandrine tradition[196] claimed that he was an Athenian who had fled to Megara for some cause and had become a hero after dying in defense of a boy friend. Seeliger[197] thinks "from Athens" means "from Eleusis" and that since in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter,[198] Diocles is called a pupil of Demeter, the Eleusinian and Megarian Diocles are one and the same individual. By the time of Pausanias, Diocles seems to have been crowded out by the eponymous hero of the acropolis Alcathoa. Perhaps he lingered on as the hero of the suppressed

Ionian population. In any case he belongs to the Heroic age. Διοκλῆς appears frequently as an element in Megarian proper names.[199] In the Acharnians[200] the Megarian swears by Diocles.

These Διόκλεια were held at the beginning of spring.[201] The prize is said to have been a crown of flowers and was presented to the boy who gave the sweetest kiss.[202] Boeckh[203] and Reinganum,[204] however, maintain that we must not limit such a contest to kissing but must extend it to contests in general such as the ones in which Diocles was victorious. But if we are to judge by the elegies of Theognis,[205] boy-love was as common at Megara as in other parts of Greece and the osculatory contest at the games may have constituted no insignificant part. Hiller von Gaertringen,[206] however, thinks that all these stories were told simply to explain the origin of the festival and are therefore aetiological.

XXVIII. Melampus.[207]

Melampus, the famous seer, was worshipped particularly in Aegosthena, where a temple was erected to him. The cult-statue was represented by a stele, less than life-size, on which the figure was carved in relief.

Melampus was probably a priest or prophet who was later exalted to hero-worship.[208] His school of seers, the Melampodidae, was the most famous in Greece and took precedence, both in point of time and in importance, over the Asclepiadae. For it was Melampus who is said to have introduced the worship of Dionysus into the Peloponnesus, bringing it south from Thessaly in prehistoric times.[209] His connection with Megara resulted from the work of his great-grandson, Polyeidus, who, as we have related above,[210] came to purify Alcathous after the latter had slain his son. Polyeidus, we are told, dedicated the temple to Dionysus Patrous in Megara. The graves of Astycrateia and Manto, daughters of Polyeidus, were at the entrance to this temple.

XXIX. Achelous.[211]

This cult was wide spread and was probably a recollection of the earliest settlements of the Greeks. Achelous was strictly the name of a river in Aetolia, Acharnania and Thessaly, but came to be used as the designation of any stream, or simply, of water. His power, however, was felt as only half-personal, hence a βωμός served as the place of his worship. In Megara this worship was intimately connected with the erection of the Fountain-House of the Nymphs and the building of the aqueduct of Theagenes. On the relief of Hermes and the Nymphs[212] Achelous was represented, and in his excavations southwest of Megara Mr. Philios found the head of a man with horns constructed of clay and somewhat similar to the usual representations of Achelous.[213] Among the cedar-wood figures dedicated by the Megarians in their Treasury at Olympia, was the representation of Heracles wrestling with Achelous.[214] Megarian proper names[215] occasionally have the word as one of their elements.

Doubtful Cults.

We may here consider briefly a number of cults, found principally among the Megarian colonies, which are often considered to be native Megarian, but on insufficient grounds, as it would appear.

The Dioscuri.

The name Πολυδευκείδας occurs in an inscription,[216] and Λευκίππιδωρος was common in Megara.[217] The cult of the Tyndaridi was found in Selinus and Chalcedon.[218] An inscription of Selinus[219] mentions among the gods who brought victory to the Selinuntines, the Τυνδαρίδαι. From this scanty evidence Bechtel thinks that the cult of the Leucippidae was associated with that of the Tyndaridae as at Sparta. But since we have no reference to the Dioscuri in Megara itself it is not safe to imply that such cult existed in the mother country even though the colonies did have it. As

we shall see later, the Megarian colonies in Sicily and on the Black Sea very early began to lead an independent life of their own.

Amphiaraus.

We are told by Hesychius Milesius[220] that Byzas, the eponymous hero of Byzantium, after constructing τεμένη to the gods and βωμοί to the heroes, also built an altar for Amphiaraus. With this statement Dionysius of Byzantium[221] agrees. By these passages Pfister[222] is led to attribute a cult of Amphiaraus to Megara. But Amphiaraus was an Argive and Boeotian seer; hence, if it is true that Boeotians formed a part of the colonizing party to Byzantium[223] just as they did in the case of Chalcedon, it is quite likely that the worship of Amphiaraus came in from Boeotia or Argos for we do not hear of it in connection with Megara elsewhere.[224]

Hipposthenes.

Dionysius of Byzantium[225] mentions the grave of the hero Hipposthenes in Byzantium and calls him a Megarian. But this designation may have been given because the Megarians were the most numerous of the colonists that established the new city, and Pfister[226] is doubtless correct in questioning his connection with the mother city. We hear[227] of a certain Hipposthenes of Lacedaemon, who was a noted wrestler, and who received divine honors in his native land. Furthermore, a Megarian by the name of Hippomenes defeated Atalanta in the foot-race and became her husband, according to one story.[228] Pfister would therefore make the Hipposthenes mentioned by Dionysius the same individual as this Hippomenes, since μένος = σθένος and the first elements of each name are identical; hence Ἵππο-σθένης = Ἵππο-μένης. Furthermore, since Hippomenes is called the son of Megareus of Onchestus, the above identification would refer him to Boeotia, the probable source of his worship.

Schoiniclus.

Dionysius mentions[229] this hero's grave as being close to the tomb of Hipposthenes but adds that his worship was brought from Megara. The principle is no doubt the same here as in the case of Hipposthenes. We probably have in the cults of Amphiraus, Hipposthenes and Schoiniclus a group whose influence was carried over to Byzantium by the Boeotian element among the colonists.

Saron.

Dionysius mentions[230] the altar of Saron, a Megarian hero, on the bay called Bathycolpos. This Saron was in late times considered the eponymous hero of the Saronic Gulf,[231] but originally he was a mythical king of Troezen in Argolis. Probably, then, Argive tradition is the early source of his worship which was later carried over to Byzantium. In any case, the story of Saron appears to have been localized near Troezen,[232] and not, as Pfister[233] says, on the coast of Megara.

Hera.

Again Dionysius seems to be our only authority for the statement[234] that Hera was worshipped by the Megarians in Byzantium. We hear, however, of the temple of Hera near Cape Olmiae on the northwest shore of Megaris, but Pausanias does not mention it and Strabo states[235] that it was not existent in his day. The latter speaks of the oracle of Hera Acraea, which was an old structure. In this connection it is interesting to recall that one of the early tribes of Megaris was called the Ἥραεῖς .[236]

Summary.

The above survey has given us a total of twenty-five temples dedicated to the gods, thereby making Megara the fifth city in Greece in the number of its religious monuments.[237] We have also met a number of heroa and other sacred shrines. All the major divinities, with the probable exception of Hera,

were worshipped in cults. Various influences seem to have been at work in building up the Megarian pantheon--influences that began in early pre-Dorian days and continued into late times. Thus Megara became cosmopolitan in its religious sympathies. The cults of Zeus, Demeter, Artemis, and Athena reveal the earlier aspects of the worship of these deities of whom the last two, along with Poseidon, are probably pre-Hellenic.[238] With the coming of the Pelasgae we have seen the introduction of Apollo worship which soon surpassed all others. Such fervent worship of Apollo is an indication of strong Indo-European-Hellenic feeling.[239]

But many other forces were at work also. The desire on the part of the Megarians to connect themselves with the Heroic Age no doubt contributed largely to the introduction of such personalities as Agamemnon, Ajax and Iphigenia into the native tradition. From the Theban circle came Adrastus, Aegialeus, Antonoe, and perhaps Alcmena. Boeotia also contributed the story of Megareus and Ino. Callipolis, son of Alcathous, is said to have gone on the Calydonian Boar Hunt in Aetolia. Thus Megara was connected with three of the four great Greek legends.[240]

We should expect to find considerable Athenian influence but probably the later enmity between the two states prevented this. We do have, however, the story of Pandion and Tereus, and references to the deeds of Theseus. Eleusis is influential in the worship of Demeter and the story of Diocles. Thessaly probably contributed the cult of Melampus. But often it is impossible to determine the actual forces at work in the case of some of the myths, and no doubt several motives contributed. Such influences as local patriotism, the ambition of aristocratic families, the aetiological myth, and the antagonism of cults[241] are frequently seen in the stories. Then, too, the Delphic oracle may have played a considerable part in reviving hero-worship, as Poulsen[242] has suggested. But a no less startling omission is the utter absence of any trace of the worship of Heracles.[243]

Notes to Chapter II.

1. The only special study of the cults of Megara is by F. Pfister, Die Mythische Königsliste von Megara und ihr Verhältnis zum Kult und zur topographischen Bezeichnung, Naumburg, 1907. But this is by no means a complete study since it is concerned only with the mythical kings. Nearly all of the cult epithets are discussed in the standard works of Farnell, Roscher, Preller-Robert, Gruppe.

2. See Chapter V.

3. Paus. I. 44. 2. I.G. VII. 39.

4. Imhoof-Plumer-Gardner, J.H.S. 6, 56. Pl. A. 10. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, II. 532. Head, Hist. Num. 394.

5. See Jebb on Soph. Trach. 208 and Electra 637.

6. Roscher in Roscher's Lexikon I^1. 438 f.

7. Farnell, IV. 322.

8. Paus. I. 44. 10, Preller-Robert, Griech. Myth. 233.

9. Paus. I. 41. 3. For the cult epithets cf. Arrian (Cynaeg. 35) and Xen. (De Venat. I. 6).

10. Farnell, IV. 112. cf. the cults of Apollo Ἀγρέτης of Chios and Λάφριος in Calydon. The animals most commonly associated with him are the wild goat, stag and roe (Farnell, IV. 310 f.).

11. Paus. I. 42. 5.

12. Philostratus (De Vit. Soph. I. 24. 3), Schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 86, 157.

13. Aly, Der Kretische Apollonkult, p.5.

14. Poulsen, Delphi, pp.25 f.

15. Op.cit. pp.260 f. and n.1.

16. I.G. IV. 580. But the reading is very uncertain.

17. Müller, Dorians II. 220, n.3; Reinganum, op.cit. p.131.

18. Theognis, 773 f. Paus. I. 42. 1. cf. below s.v. Θεοὶ Προδομεῖς.

19. In the Hom. Hymn to Apollo, the god is represented as guiding the Cretan priests to Delphi where he established his worship.

20. Compare the Leto group above.

21. See Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. VI. 55. Head, op.cit. p. 394.

22. Paus. I. 44. 2: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.

23. Frazer, ad.loc. cf. Pfister, op.cit. pp. 8 f.

24. Just as we have Καρία (the acropolis) from Κάρ , so we should expect Κάριος as the masculine form of the adjective. See Reinganum, op.cit. p. 141, n. 3. cf. Hdt. V. 66, .

25. Paus. III. 14. 6.

26. In Roscher's, Lexikon II[1]. 961. 964.

27. Farnell, IV. 150. Aly. op.cit. pp. 8-10. Miss Swindler, Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo, pp. 45 f.

28. Farnell, IV. 259. Hall, Aegean Arch. pp. 148 f. The ram was sacrificed to him (Theocr. V. 82).

29. Farnell, IV. 364. So Head, op.cit. p. 393 (cf. p. 269).

30. See Head, l.c. The coins show an obelisk between two dolphins. Such representation of Apollo was very common (Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. 6, 55. Pl. L. VIII). Pfister (op.cit. p. 12, n. 22) thinks that the pyramidal pillar is to be interpreted as a phallic symbol. But it seems rather to be heraldic. See Evans in J.H.S. 21 (1901). 130 ff.

30b. See Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Apollon.

31. See Hdt. I. 171,

32. Farnell, IV. 307.

33. Farnell, IV. 317.

34. Farnell, IV. 148 ff., 161 f., V. 19; Hecucidas Fg. 2(F.H.G. IV. p. 388, M.); Theognis, 773 f.; Müller, Dorians I. 321 ff., Eng. trans.; Aly. op.cit. p. 53; Schwindler, op.cit. pp. 41 f.

35. See I.G. VII. 35: Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκείω.

36. Paus. I. 42. 1-3. See Chapter I.

37. The following types are known:

Apollo standing holds lyre and plectrum.

Head of Apollo: Lyre, tripod, dolphin or quiver.

See Head, op.cit. p.393, Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. VI. 55. Farnell, IV. 327.

Compare the passage in Plutarch (Pyth. Or. 402 A): ὕστερον (οἱ Μεγαρεῖς) πλῆκτρον ἀνέθηκαν τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦν ἐπιστήσαντες, ὡς ἔοικε, Ξενοθίνῳ λέγοντι περὶ τῆς λύρας "ἣν ἁρμόξεται Ζηνὸς εὐειδὴς Ἀπόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος συλλαβών, ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλῆκτρον ἡλίου φάος."

38. cf. Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Arch. II. No.25: Μουσῶν καὶ θεοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Ἀπόλλωνος Μουσείου.
Compare Preller-Robert, Griech. Myth. p.201.

39. Plutarch (Pyth. Or. 402 A.): αἰτιῶμαι Μεγαρεῖς ὅτι μόνοι σχεδὸν ἔνταῦθα λόγχην ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἔστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἣν Ἀθηναίους μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντας αὐτῶν νικήσαντες ἔξέβαλον

40. Theognis, 775 ff.:

αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μηδων ἄπερυκε
τῆσδε πόλευς ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἔν εὐφροσυνῃ
ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πεμπωσ' ἑκατομβας,
τειπομένῳ κιθάρῃ τ' ἀμφ' ἐρατῇ θαλίῃ
παιάν' τε χορῶν ἰαχήσι τε σὸν περὶ δωμον.

41. In an inscription (Ditt. Syll.[2] I. 291), probably of the second century B.C., a certain Cassandrus, son of Menestheus, is honored by various peoples among whom are the Megarians. The IS. was found among the rubbish of the temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad.

In the Acharnians (761-3) the Megarian compares the raid of the Athenians into Megaris to raids on the crops by field mice (ἀρουραῖοι μύες). The cult-word for field mouse was σμίνθος. The raids here mentioned are described by Thucydides (II. 31, IV. 66.). Cf. Plutarch, Pericl. 30.

Farnell (IV. 165) says that there are no traces of the cult of Apollo Smintheus on the mainland of Greece, and that it was confined to the islands of the Aegean and Asia Minor. Aly (op.cit. p. 53) limits it to Asia Minor, but Miss Swindler (op.cit. p.32) finds traces of it at Athens and Thespiae.

42. Head. op.cit. p.393. The coins belong to the fourth century and later. Miss Swindler (op.cit. pp. 22-29) has apparently overlooked the coins of Megara and this pyramidal column (Paus. I. 44. 2) in her discussion of Apollo Delphinios.

43. Paus. I. 40. 2, 44. 4.

44. Head, op.cit. p. 394.

45. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. 6. 53.

46. Farnell, II. 470. An unknown poet of the Anthology (IX. 534) thus celebrates her: Ἄρτεμις ἱδρώουσα προάγγελός ἐστι κυδοιμοῦ.

47. Paus. I. 41. 3.

Aiavτς

48. Farnell, II. 532.

49. Head, op.cit. p.394. Imhoof-Plumer-Garndor, J.H.S. 6. 53. On one of the coins Artemis is shown in long chiton raising one hand to her quivver, while with the other hand she seems to be grasping a plectrum (Imhoof-Plumer-Gardner, l.c. p.56). But Farnell (II. 536) thinks that if this is really a plectrum, it may refer to Artemis Hymnia (Farnell, II. 471 f.).

50. Farnell, II. 532.

51. Paus. I. 43. 1. Theognis, 11-12.

52. Cf. below Athena Αἴαντις and Iphigeneia. Ischepolis was said to have lost his life on the Calydonian Boar Hunt (Paus. I. 42. 7). Adrastus died in Megara after his return from the siege of Thebes, according to local tradition (Paus. 1. 43. 1.)

53. Hyg. Fab. 97.

54. See Heckenbach in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Kalchas.

55. Hermes, 23, 619 f. Cf. Hitzig-Plümner on Paus. I. 43. 1.Cf. Pfister, op.cit. pp.34 ff., 46.

56. I.G. VII. 113:
Ἁξομένην κούρην Λητωΐδα εἰοχέαιραν
Ἄρτεμιν Ὀρθωσίην πόλεως περὶ τείχεα πάντα
εἰμὶ ἱερηὶς ἐγὼ Ἀσκληπιάδης, κ.τ.λ.

57. Cf. Gildersleeve on Pindar, Ol. III. 54, Ὀρθωσία.

58. Farnell, II. 453.

58b. See Bosanquet in B.S.A. 12 (1905-6). pp.331 ff. especially pp. 332-33.

59. Pfister, op.cit. pp.3, 8 ff. Cf. Paus. I. 39. 5, 40. 6.

60. This question is discussed in detail in Chapter V.

61. Paus. I. 42. 6.

62. The scholiast on Lucian's Dial. Meretr. II. 2 says that Demeter was called

Θεσμοφόρος because she laid down a law (θέσμος) according to which mankind should gain his livelihood by labor. See J. Harrison, Proleg. to Gk. Relig. pp. 120-123. Farnell, III. 76.

63. Farnell, III. 78.

64. Farnell, III. 75, 232.

65. Head, op.cit. p.394.

66. Farnell, III. 229.

67. The Megarian in the Acharnians (764 ff.) calls his pigs χοῖρος μυστικάς

68. Paus. I. 44. 3.

69. Ahrens (Dor. Dial. pp. 145, 153) argues that since in true Doric μᾶλον (Att. μῆλον) always means "fruit," therefore Dor. μαλοφόρος must be "fruit-giving." In true Doric and Boeotian the Attic μῆλον (sheep) becomes μεῖλον . So in Pindar. He notes Eurip. Herc. Fur. 396, μαλοφόρος and Theocr. Epigr. 2, μηλοφορέω . Welcker (Griech. Götterlehre II. p.474), however, connects Demeter with districts that grow goats and sheep, and refers to this passage of Pausanias. He also calls attention to a coin of Pagae on which Demeter appears with a ram.

70. Farnell (III. 32 f.) claims that the rendering "giver of apples" is more in conformity with cult-practice since the animals usually sacrificed to Demeter were the cow, bull, and pig while the goat, sheep and ram are rarely mentioned. But Megarian rams were famous (Theognis, 183 ff. and Hudson-Williams ad. loc.).

71. Xen. Mem. II. 7. 6. Compare Ure, Origin of Tyranny p. 266.

72. The subject is treated fully in the chapter on "Natural Products and Industries."

73. Paus. I. 40. 4. This temple was apparently located at the foot of the northwest slope of the acropolis Caria. See Chapter I.

74. Farnell, I. 136.

75. Head, op. cit. p. 394. Imhoof-Blumer-Garnder, J.H.S. VI. 53 f.

76. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, l.c.

77. Paus. I. 44. 9.

78. See Chapter I.

79. Compare a similar story of long-continued draught and final relief by Zeus in Paus. II. 29. 7.

80. Farnell I, 51.

81. Farnell I. 45.

82. Farnell, I. 44.

83. Griech. Myth. p. 118, n. 3.

84. Etym. Mag. p. 176, 32.

85. Zeus, A Study in Anc. Relig., pp. 117, 121.

86. Paus. I. 40. 6.

87. Philologus, III, 518.

88. In their comments on the passage in Pausanias.

89. See Frazer, Golden Bough I. 26-30.

90. Frazer (Pausanias, I. 61) translates the adjective "Dusty" -- "a roofless temple of Dusty Zeus."

91. Cook, op. cit. pp. 118 f.

92. Cook, op. cit. p. 121.

93. Paus. I. 43. 6. Robert (Pausanias als Schriftsteller, p. 183, n. 1) thinks that this temple was dedicated to the Muses. But while the order of words in the above passage from Pausanias does place the Muses first and Zeus last (καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος), in such a group Zeus would undoubtedly be the leading deity and the Muses simply his attendants. An in-

scription (I.G. VII. 38) was found on two of a number of large stones at Megara which seem to have formed the base for a large group of sculpture. It has been suggested by Löewy (Ath. Mitt. 10. (1885). 145-150) that this belonged to the group of Zeus and the Muses. Pomtow (Jahrb. Arch. Inst. 32. (1917). 136) accepts the above identification but thinks that the inscription may be a renewal of 250 B.C. Johnson (Lysippus, p. 19) would date the inscription after 300 B.C.

94. Cook, op.cit. p. 111.

95. Paus. I. 42. 4.

96. In Preller- Robert, Griech. Myth. 216 n. 3.

97. Paus. I. 42. 4: ἄγαλμα δέ ἐστιν ἔπίχρυσον, πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐλέφαντος.

Cf. Fursian, Geog. I. 377. Hitzig-Plümner (ad. loc.) in correcting Beinganum (Das alte Megaris, p. 131) have misunderstood the latter's statement which is correct.

98. Head, op. cit. p. 394.

99. Farnell, I. 258 ff.

100. H. R. Hall, Anc. Hist. of the Near East, p. 520 and n. 1.

101. Paus. I. 42. 4.

102. Preller-Robert, op. cit. pp. 494 ff.

103. Paus. I. 42. 4.

104. Farnell, I. 259. Cf. the Artemis of Agamemnon, above pp. 7 f. Hitzig-Plümner (on Paus. I. 42. 4) following Töpffer (Att. Genealogie, p. 272). But Farnell (I. 265) also suggests that the cult-epithet may have been misunderstood and later identified with the name of the great Greek warrior. Cf. note 106.

105. Hitzig-Plümner and Töpffer as above.

106. Alkathoös u. die Megarische Königsliste, p. 38, in Festschrift für J. Overbeck. According to Megarian tradition, Ajax was the grandson of Alcathous.

107. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. VI. p. 7.

108. Paus. I. 41. 6, 5.3. Cf. Lycophron, Alex. 359.

109. Preller-Robert, op.cit. p. 217.

110. Farnell, I. 265.

111. Hesychius, s.v. ἐν Δ' Ἀίθυια.

112. See Welcker, Alte Denkmäler, III. Pl. VI; J.H.S. 5. (1884), Pl. XL.

113. Etymol. Mag. s.v. Τώϋγγες ; Hesych. s.v. Τώϋξ ; Arist., Hist. Anim. IX. 18 (617 a 9).

114. See Mayer in Hermes 27. (1892). 481-489; Frazer on Paus. I. 41. 6.

115. See Fechtel S.G.D.I. No. 3001 - I.G. VII. 37.

116. Preller-Robert, op. cit. p. 214.

117. Hall, l.c.

118. The Megarians have been criticised for their patronage of ἑταίραι and this trait has been attributed to their Ionian blood. See the discussion in the chapter on "Some National Traits."

119. Paus. I. 43. 6.

120. Plutarch, Agesil. 27.

121. Cf. Xen. Hell. V. 4. 58.

122. Farnell, II. 665.

123. Preller-Robert, op. cit. pp. 501-509.

124. Paus. I. 40. 6.

125. Farnell, II. 665. Ἐπιστροφία sometimes = Ἔρως , Preller-Robert, op. cit. p. 368.

126. See Fechtel S.G.D.I. No. 3030.

127. Paus. I. 43. 5. This probably is only a special application of the story

that Melampus introduced the worship of Dionysus into the Peloponnesus and was of Minyan stock. Cf. Farnell, V. III.

128. Paus. I. 43. 5.

129. A late authority (Schol. on Ap. Rh. IV. 1212), however, claims that the Bacchiadai of Corinth derived their origin from him. See Farnell, V, 85,92,133 f.

130. Cf. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, p. 64.

131. Paus. I. 43. 5. At Collatis there was a temple to Dionysus Lasyllius, the Δασύλλειον .

132. Farnell, Cults V. 118. His character as tree-god was aboriginal (Ibid. p.240).

133. Preller-Robert, op. cit. p. 708.

134. Etymol. Mag. s.v. δασύλλιος . But in this connection it should be remembered that the vine seems not to have flourished in Megara.

135. Paus. I. 40. 6. The epithet is found in Plutarch (Deei apud Delph. 389 A) and Ovid (Metam. IV. 11).

136. Farnell, V. 128. The Etymol. Mag. s.v. Νυκτέλιος explains it as meaning "worshipped at night." Heraoleitus (Fg.127. Byw.) identifies Dionysus and Hades.

137. Thucy. IV. 67, 118. See Casson, B.S.A. 19. 71.

138. Hall, op. cit. p. 521.

139. Thucy. IV. 67. Casson, l.c.

140. Paus. I. 44. 2.

141. In Homer both the singular and plural forms of the word are found. Originally, εἰλείθυια meant "the pangs of childbirth." See Bauer, Eileithyia, Tübingen, 1901, and Usener, Gotternamen, p. 299.

142. Paus. I. 43. 6.

143. Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. 6, 56 f. Head, op. cit. p. 394.

144. See P. Gardner, J.H.S. 9. (1888). pp. 47-88, especially pp. 73 f.; Hild in Daremberg-Saglio, Dict. s.v. Fortuna.

145. Compare Pindar's Twelfth Olympian Ode..Tyche is mentioned only occasionally by the ancient writers. In Hesiod (Theog. 360) she is a daughter of Oceanus; in the Hom. Hymn. to Dem. (420) she is a play-mate of Persephone; in Theognis (130 f.) she is good fortune to be pursued in preference to ἀρετή and ἀφθονία .

146. Paus. I. 40. 3.

147. On the basis of Pausanias' remark ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέλους it has been argued by Klein (Arch. Epigr. Mitt. Öst. IV. (1880). pp. 12 ff.) and Overbeck (Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik[4] I. 500) that these statues were the work of the Leder Praxiteles, supposed grandfather of the famous Praxiteles. But as Praxiteles made other statues for Megara (Paus. I. 43. 5, 6; 44. 2) the expression λεγόμενα probably only indicates that the signature of the sculptor was omitted. Cf. Frazer ad. loc.

148. In the Colonnade of Zeus at Athens Euphranor had painted the Twelve Gods (Paus. I. 3. 3). At Thelpusa in Arcadia there was a temple to them (Paus.VIII. 25. 3).

149. Paus. I. 42. 1.

150. In Roscher's Lexikon, III.[2] p. 2998.

151. Pausanias, Vol. I. p. 63.

152. Note ad. loc.

153. Greek Hero Cults, p. 75.

154. Etymol. Mag. s.v. .

155. When Byzas erected the walls of Byzantium Poseidon and Apollo helped him. (Hesych. Miles. in F.H.G. IV. 148 f., M.).

156. The god of the family-cult had an altar standing in the courtyard of the early Greek house (Farnell, Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, pp. 29 f.). The gods so worshipped were commonly Zeus, Apollo and Athena.

157. Paus. I. 40. 1. Cf. 44. 2.

158. See Höfer in Roscher's Lexikon, III[1]. 527-531. Wiegler's Votivreliefs aus Megara has not been accessible.

159. Paus. I. 40. 6.

160. See Chapter I. p.

161. Head, op. cit. p. 394. Wroth in J.H.S. VIII. 50-97.

162. Paus. I. 40. 6.

163. See Weizsäcker in Roscher's Lexikon, III[1]. 570-76.

164. Hall, Aegean Arch. p. 149.

165. Paus. I. 44. 9.

166. Farnell, Cults V. p. 432.

167. See Svoronos-Parth in Das Athener National-Museum, Heft 17-18, p. 449, Pl. LXXIII. A similar relief was found at Athens on Mt. Parnes. See Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1905. p. 102 and Farnell, Cults V. p. 35 and Pl. V.

168. Farnell, op. cit. V. 10. In the Acharnians 742, the Megarian swears by Hermes.

169. Paus. I. 41. 3.

170. See Imhoof-Plumer-Gardner, J.H.S. 8. 50. For Isis worship in Greece see Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, II. 111-119. Cf. A. Busch, De Serapide et Iside in Graecia Cultis, p. 31.

171. Paus. I. 41. 6.

172. Paus. I. 5. 3, 39. 4, 41. 6. Cf. above p. 14.

173. Paus. I. 41. 8.

174. See Paus. I. 5. 4, X. 4. 9; Thucy. II. 29; Arist. Hist. Anim. IX. 49 (633 a); Aesch. Supp. 60; Hyginus, Fab. 45. E. Oder (Rh. Mus. N.F. 43. (1888). pp. 540-56) thinks that the original story made Nereus a hawk and not a hoopoe. Cf. also Frazer on Paus. I. 41. 8.

175. Paus. I. 43. 4; Xen. Hell. V. 4. 58; Plut. Ages. 27.

176. Paus. I. 43. 1. Dieucidas (F.H.G. IV. Fg. 3, M.).

177. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, p. 335.

178. His grave was called the Aegialeum, Paus. I. 44. 4, IX. 19. 2.

179. Paus. I. 44. 5.

180. Preller-Robert, op. cit. p. 458.

181. Paus. I. 42. 7.

182. Farnell, op. cit. p. 47.

183. Homer, Od. V. 333.

184. Farnell, op. cit. p. 36.

185. Paus. I. 44. 7; Plut. 675 E.

186. For the discussion see Farnell, op. cit. pp. 35-47.

187. Paus. I. 41. 1.

188. Farnell, op. cit. p. 106.

189. Farnell, op. cit. p. 111.

190. Cf. Farnell, op. cit. p. 358.

191. Seeliger, Alkathous u. die Megarische Königsliste, passim.

192. Paus. I. 43. 1.

193. Farnell, op. cit. p. 58.

194. Schol. on Pindar, Ol. XIII. 155.

195. Plut. Thes. 10.

196. Schol. on Theocr. XII. 27-33; Schol. on Aristoph. Acharn. 774. Cf. Miller v. Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Diokles 1, 2.

197. Seeliger, op. cit. pp. 32 f.

198. Hom. H. 475, 153. But the text varies giving Διοκλῆς in one place, Δίοκλος in the other.

199. See Prosopographia.

200. Aristoph. Acharn. 774: νὴ τὸν Διόκλεα.

201. Schol. on Pind. Nem. III. 145; Schol. on Theocr. XII. 30.

202. Theocr. XII. 27-33.

203. On Pindar, Ol. VII. 86.

204. Reinganum, op. cit. p. 142.

205. See Eleg. P. 1249 ff.

206. In Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Diokles 1. For the subject of Diokles in general see further Stoll in Roscher's Lexikon I[1]. 1021.

207. Paus. I. 44. 5.

208. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, p. 64. An IS. (I.G. VII. 219) calls him a god. For representations of him on the coins see Head, op. cit. pp. 392 f.; Imhoof-Plumer-Gardner, J.H.S. 6. 58.

209. See in general Halliday, Greek Divination, pp. 54-98, especially pp. 61, 95.

210. See above s.v. VII. Dionysus.

211. Paus. I. 41. 2.

212. See above p. 24.

213. See Eph. Arch. 1890. p. 34.

214. Paus. VI. 19. 12. Cf. Hyde, Olympic Victor Monuments p. 93, n. 9.

215. See Pechtel, S.G.D.I. 3025, Ἀ[χ]ελοι ὁ[δ]ωρος . In Aegosthena the form Ἀχέλαι is found. See Pechtel, ad. loc. For Achelous worship see Farnell, Cults, V. 421-24; Preller- Robert, 32 f.

216. Pechtel, No. 3020.

217. See Prosopographia, and Cf. Pechtel on IS. 3025, lines 54 f.

218. See Gardner, J.H.S. 7. 154.

219. Pechtel, No. 3046. It is fifth century I.C.

220. See F.H.G. IV. 149. M.

221. See Geogr. Gr. Min., II. 32. Fg. 26. M.

222. Pfister, op. cit. pp. 36 f. Farnell (Greek Hero Cults p. 61) thinks that this reference to the altar of Amphiaraus at Byzantium is doubtful.

223. Const. Porphyr. De Them. 2, p. 46 ed. Bonn.

224. Pfister, op. cit. p. 43 recognizes this possibility.

225. See Geogr. Gr. Min. II. 32, Fg. 24.

226. Pfister, op. cit. pp. 36 f.

227. Paus. III. 15. 7, V. 8. 9.

228. Theocr. III. 40; Apollod. III. 9, 15. 8; Ovid, Metam. X. 606.

229. Geogr. Gr. Min., l.c.

230. Op. cit., Fg. 43.

231. Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάρων ; Etymol. Mag. s.v. Σαρωνίς .

232. Steph. Byz. l.c. Eustathius on Iliad II. 561.

233. Pfister, op.cit. p. 41.

234. Dionys. Byz. Hist. Gk. III. 2.

235. Strabo VIII, 6. 22.

236. See Chapter V.

237. Cf. Hussey in A.J.A. 6. (1890). p. 63, who gives Megara twenty-six temples; but in this number the sanctuary of Melampus must be included. According to Hussey, the Greek cities ranked as follows in the number of their temples: Sparta 84, Athens 71, Argos 36, Megalopolis 32, Megara 26, Sicyon and Hermione 23, Olympia and Corinth 17, Thebes 16. It seems illogical, however, to conclude from this, as does Hussey, that such ranking would also indicate relative population. The building of temples to the gods was largely dependent upon religious zeal and wealth of the state. It may be due largely to a lack of the latter that Megara did not have even more temples. Contrast the splendid Treasury at Olympia, an early building of the time of her prosperity, with the humble basement at Delphi, and see Dinsmoor B.C.H. 36. (1912). 466.

238. Hall, The Anc. Hist of the Near East, p. 520, n. 1.

239. Hall, op. cit. p. 520.

240. In consideration of Megara's early commercial activities in the region of the Black Sea, it is rather remarkable that she had no myths connected with the Argonautic Expedition. But see Ap. Rh. Arg. II. 747,847.

241. This may account for the absence of the cult of Hera. Her religion was antagonistic to the cult of Eleusis and never had any connection with the oracle of Delphi. See Farnell, Cults, I. p. 193.

242. Poulsen (Delphi, p. 30) points out that such hero-worship had been greatly weakened by the rationalism of the Ionic philosophers.

243. A Heracleum is mentioned in a late inscription of Aegosthena (I.G. VII.213. The time is about 212 B.C.). This town was now independent of Megara but even here the cult seems not to have been prominent. Heracleia, a Megarian colony on the Black Sea, was named after Heracles and considered him its patron hero (Paus. V. 26. 5). But this may have been due to the Boeotian element in the colony (Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, p. 132; Cf. Justin XVI. 3). Only traces of Heracles are to be seen at Chalcedon (Xen. Hell. I. 3. 7; Fechtel, S.G.D.I. No. 3052 a), Selinus (Fechtel, op. cit. No. 3046; Head, Hist. Num. p. 168), and Byzantium (Fechtel, op.cit. No. 3058; Müller, Dorians I.^{2} p. 121, n. 6,, II.^{2} p. 231, n.2). The entire Heracles legend in the Peloponnesus is indefinitely pre-Dorian (Farnell, op. cit. p. 113). But the Hylleis, one of the early Megarian tribes, seem to have carried with them wherever they went the idea of their ancestor Heracles (Farnell, op. cit. pp. 128, 134). Megara is an exception, however.

CHAPTER III.

Art.

Proximity to Athens no doubt had much to do with Megara's cultivation of the arts.[1] But unfortunately, the native material for works of art was very limited both in quality and variety. For sculpture she depended upon a very soft, coarse limestone which could not have presented an especially pleasing appearance. For pottery she seems to have been somewhat more fortunate in that the native soil was very clayey and furnished several kinds of this material. In the present chapter we shall consider first, briefly, the character of these materials, and then turn to the discussion of sculpture, pottery, and miscellaneous works of art.

I. Materials

The native Megarian sculptors used a soft, porous limestone called λίθος κογχίτης or λίθος κογχυλίας. The locus classicus for its description is found in Pausanias, who says:[2] "The Megarians are the only Greeks who have this conch-shell stone and out of it many of the buildings in their city are constructed. It is very white and softer than any other stone; conch shells are found throughout its texture." Bodwell, speaking of the surprising disappearance of Megarian buildings states[3] that it may be due to two causes, one of which is "The nature of the stone, which is a soft and porous compound of petrified shells and marine substances that are easily decomposed, and crumbled into dust;" and again, "It (the stone) is composed chiefly of cockle-shells, resembling the stone of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, except that it is more compact." Ursian[4] says that Mt. Geraneia consists partly of a dirty yellow limestone filled with mussel-shells out of which the buildings of modern Megara are largely constructed.

he thinks, however, that in antiquity a finer grade of this stone was available for artistic work, and that it may have been an important article of export.[5] The quality of the stone is indicated by the fact that it was more commonly used for the foundations of buildings, city walls, etc., in regions where a better grade of material was to be found.[6]

Clay for the potter's industry was found in abundance.[7] One special variety was the clay of Cirolia. It seems to have been of a whitish or grayish color,[8] and was found in a level district probably northwest of Megara along the road to Tripodiscus.[9] The clay used in the construction of the raking cornice of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia was very coarse.[10]

II. Sculpture

A. Early Sculpture.

Of early Megarian sculpture only two certain works are preserved.[11] These include a colossal archaic torso resembling the Apollo Itous, and the pedimental sculptures of the Treasury at Olympia. The archaic Apollo[12] was 2.10 meters high and made of marble, either Pentelic, Parian or Naxian.[13] The statue lacks the head, arms, the right leg below the knee. The left leg is broken ~~is broken~~ off above the knee. On the right shoulder are to be seen two cavities showing traces of some metal. The presence of these cavities has led Rekule to suppose that a belt passed over the shoulder where it was fastened, but this idea is rejected by Deonna.[14] Under the right armpit and on the thigh at the place where the hand would come are two cramp holes which probably indicate that the arm was either added separately to the statue originally or that it had been broken off and repaired. The latter seems the more probable. The body is tall and slim, the chest slender, the hips not very broad. The breasts are placed very high and are faintly indicated. The muscles of the stomach are accurately represented. The

lower part of the chest is marked by the arc of a circle, while the abdomen is indicated by three horizontal, flat bars of flesh.[15] The navel is imperceptibly sunken. The lines of the groin form a right angle and bound the lower part of the stomach. Turning to the back of the figure we note that the shoulder-blades are faultily represented. The dorsal lines are merely indicated but the sterno-mastoid muscles are shown. The hair gives the appearance of a checkered mass and ends in a rounded circular arc.

The torso in general is the product of conscious art which was still subject to certain earlier conventions. It probably belongs to the late sixth century.[16] The sculptor is unknown, but it may be attributed to the Samian-Naxian[17] school or to the Naxian school alone.[18] The circumstances of its discovery do not permit us to determine its provenance. It is conceivable, however, that originally it had been set up in one of the several Apollo temples in Megara.[19]

The sculptures of the Treasury at Olympia are preserved only in fragments but their general features have been worked out.[20] The scene represented the battle of the gods and giants and the figures were considerably under life-size. In the centre was Zeus attacking a giant. To the right of him in the middle group was Heracles with bow and club, and in the right-hand corner group Ares. On the left of Zeus in the middle group stood Athena draped, and Poseidon near the corner. The prostrate forms of giants filled in both corners. The eyes of all the figures show the archaic almond shape. But the figures seem to have been life-like and possessed of considerable energy--done, no doubt, very well considering the material used, which was a yellowish (travertine) limestone from the Alpheus valley.

3. The Family of Theocosmus.

Megara apparently did not develop a school of sculpture although it could boast of at least one eminent name and a prominent family of

sculptors. If we follow a very plausible conjecture of Robert,[21] we can bring the following list of names within the same family group. The first sculptor of whom we have mention is Callicles, son of Theocosmus. He is known to have made statues of Diagoras, the famous Rhodian boxer and of Onatas, the boy boxer. A summary of Robert's argument is appropriate at this place. In describing the victor statues set up at Olympia, Pausanias states[22] that Callicles made the statue of Diagoras and definitely points out that this Callicles was the son of Theocosmus who made the Zeus at Megara. Now we know[23] that Diagoras won his victory in 464 B.C. This would require either that the statue was not erected until long after the victory, or that Pausanias was mistaken in the identification of Theocosmus. It seems improbable, as Robert argues, that a rich and prominent individual such as Diagoras should not have his statue erected as soon as possible after the victory. For if Pausanias is correct, it would not be until the time of Diagoras' grandsons[24] that the statue was set up, since we know that Theocosmus was still active in the year 404 B.C.[25] Hence it is more natural to say that Pausanias or his guide gave an incorrect identification of Theocosmus as the inscription on the base undoubtedly read simply: Καλλικλῆς Θεοκόσμου ἐποίησε. Naturally, the great Theocosmus was thought of.

The above solution offered by Robert, while not altogether convincing, is very attractive and does not occasion any serious difficulty. If we accept it we must postulate an apparently obscure individual for the father of Callicles, who will be called Theocosmus I. It is possible that he was not a sculptor[26] in which case the early fame of this family rested entirely upon his son, and culminated in his grandson Theocosmus II.

Diagoras was the most famous of Greek boxers and won victories at Athens, Argos, Thebes, Megara.[27] The statue erected to him by Callicles at

Olympia was 4 cubits and 2 digits high;[29] that is, about 6 feet, 4.6 inches.[30] It stood where his sons and grandsons still right hand raised and left inclined toward the body. This attitude indicated prayer for victory.[30] Five fragments of the inscribed pedestal were found at Olympia. On the upper surface of the stone was an inscription:[31]

Δ.α[γό]ρας Δαμα[γή]του Ῥό[διος].

Callicles also constructed a second statue at Olympia, that of the boy-boxer Cnathon.[32] And we are told by Pliny[33] that he also sculptured philosophers. Further than this we know nothing of his work. But Hauser[34] would see in a basalt torso of a boy found on the Palatine at Rome a copy of the Cnathon, and in a bronze head now in the Glyptothek at Munich an original by Callicles. This head, he thinks, belonged to the statue of Peisirrodos of Rhodes, grandson of Diagoras, which stood next to that of his grandfather in the sculptured group at Olympia.[35] The torso belonged to a boy 13-14 years old and the entire length of the complete statue would be 1.35 m. (4.35 ft.). The general attitude is that of a παῖς πύκτης about to meet his opponent in the match. The original belonged to the latter part of the fifth or to the beginning of the fourth century.[36] The bronze head is a very fine piece of work and is probably an original. Judging from the projecting upper lip and the representation of the earlobes, it is no doubt the head of a boxing youth. It shows clear traces of Polycleitan influence and may be compared with the head of the Diadumenos.[37] Both the bronze head and the basalt torso are the work of a sculptor who was active about 420 B.C. and who, though greatly influenced by Polycleitus, also admitted Attic influence. No dates are given for the determination of Callicles' period of activity but if we follow Robert's identification as outlined above, these two fragmentary works could not have been laid on the hands of date alone.

Theocosmus II. was the student of Phidias and according to the Megarian account,[39] he began work on a chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Megara assisted by his master. The statue was erected in the Olympieum but because of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War was only partly completed. On the back of the throne above the head of Zeus were the Graces and Hours. This was probably a close copy of the Zeus at Olympia.[40] But it has been suggested[40] that the story of Phidias' helping Theocosmus is a mere local tradition told in later times because of the similarity of the two statues of Zeus. The head of the god would be of gold and ivory and the rest of the body of clay and gypsum probably colored and gilded.[41] The coins[42] of Megara seem to copy this representation of Zeus.

We hear nothing more of Theocosmus until about thirty years later when we are told that he made the statue of Hermon, pilot of Lysander's ship, which he contributed as a votive offering at Delphi for Sparta and her allies after the defeat of Athens at Aegospotami.[43] This would put his chief activity between the years 429 and 404 B.C. Hermon was a naturalized Megarian.[44] We can also infer that with Megara's change from friendliness to hostility toward Athens, Theocosmus changed from the school of Phidias to that of Polycleitus.[45] This would be the only possible course for a Megarian after the Peloponnesian War.

Apellas (uncont. form Apelleas), younger brother of Theocosmus, is known to have made one famous statue, that of Cynisca, who was the first Spartan woman to win a chariot race at Olympia. She was the daughter of King Archidamus and sister of Agesilaus, and became famous for her victories.[46] Pausanias informs us that at Olympia there was a stone base on which stood a chariot and horses, a charioteer, and a statue of Cynisca, all the work of Apellas. The horses were made of bronze and less than life-size. Most

one-third of this base was found in the north section of the Krypteway in 1877. It was made of dark limestone originally about one meter in diameter. The greater part of an epigram was found on the upper horizontal surface back of which the traces of a foot-mark were to be seen. By comparison with Anthologia Palatina VIII. 16 the epigram was restored without difficulty as follows:

Σπάρτας μὲν [βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ] πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ
ἅρμασι δ' ὠκυπόδων ἵππων] νικῶσα Κυνίσκα
εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασε· μόνα[ν] δ' ἐμὲ φαμὶ γυναικῶν
Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πασᾶς τό[ν]δε λαβεῖν στέφανον.

and on the vertical side:

Ἀπελλέας Καλλικλέους ἐποίησε.

The form of the letters of this inscription and the date of Cynisca would place the work in the first third of the fourth century. This base may have held only the statue of Cynisca or it may have been a part of a larger base that supported the entire sculptured group.[47] Cynisca was probably represented with one hand raised in the attitude of prayer. (Compare the "Diagoras" of Callicles). This is suggested by a passage in Pliny,[48] who says that Apellas made statues of women adorantes. It has been argued, however, that the chariot of Cynisca was in miniature, that the statue was a portrait or the basis of the wording of the epigram, and that we possess a late reproduction of the statue by Apellas at Olympia in the smallest of the so-called bronze dancers from the villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum, at present in Naples.[49]

In 1876 there was found in the πρόναος of the temple of Zeus at Olympia part of a four-cornered pedestal of white marble with irregular structure of cubical crystals, apparently coming from the Peloponnesus. The

block was 1 meter high, .42 meter broad, .46 -.47 meter thick. In all appearances it was intended to support a monument of some kind. The inscription reads:

[Ἀπε]λλέας Καλλικλέος [ἐποίησε.

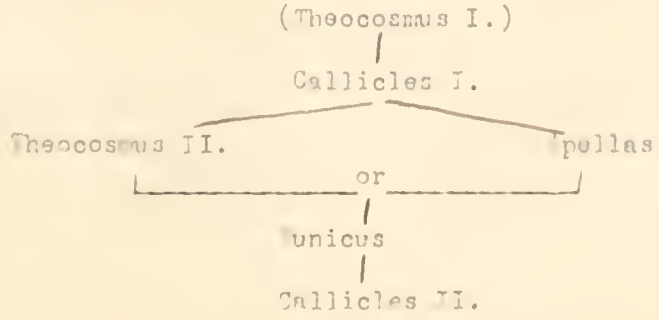
The place of finding, the size of the base, and the style of the letters of the inscription have led Dittenberger and Purgold to suggest[50] that this may have been the base on which the horses of Cynisca stood. On the top of the basis were found three clamps for attaching the plinths of the statue.

We are not informed of any other works by Apellas. That he belonged to the Peloponnesian school of sculptors[51] is shown by the form of his name and by the fact that he made statues for the Spartans. We can place his floruit in the late fifth and early fourth century.[52]

In 1904, while excavating the site of Nisaea, Pölte and Weicker[53] found at the base of the north wall of the hill a slab made of bluish limestone containing the follwoing inscription:

Ἀλ]κώνδας Θεοκύδε[ος
Διονύσωι Καλλικλῆ[ς
Εὐνίκου ἐποιε.

This seems to yield us an additional member of the famous family of sculptors and gives additional weight to Robert's argument. We can now construct the family tree as follows:



C. Eupalinus.

We hear of still another sculptor, Eupalinus, whose name appears on the base of Pentelic marble which supported some votive offering to Asclepius. It was found in the Asclepieum at Athens.[54] We know nothing more concerning him.

D. Work by Outside Sculptors.

Although Megara did not develop a school of its own, it appreciated the work of the great sculptors as will be readily seen from the following list of statues to divinities previously mentioned:

Praxiteles:[55] Statues of the Twelve Gods; Leto and her children; a Satyr of of Parian marble; Peitho and Pareregos; Tyche.

Lysippus:[56] A bronze group of Zeus and the Muses.

Strongylion:[57] Bronze statue of Artemis.

Bryaxis:[58] Statues of Asclepius and Hygeia.

Scopas:[59] Statuettes of Eros, Himeros and Pathos.

Bucheir:[60] An honorary stela.

As the Megarian sculptors after 405 B.C. belonged to the Peloponnesian school, they worked under the influence of Polycleitus; hence the absence of his name in the list of sculptored works is not difficult to understand.

E. Work by Unknown Sculptors.

In our survey of Megara and in the study of the cults we met numerous statues by unknown sculptors. A good many of them were archaic. So, for instance, a bronze statue of Artemis Savior in her temple at Cape Strongylion may have made it.[61] There were statues of Aphrodite, Apollo and Pan in the temple of Zeus Aphesius.[62] In excavating this temple Mr. Wilkins found what he considers an imitation of the work of Scopas. It was part of a head, not very well done, with bulging forehead above the rose and deeply-set eyes.[63] There was a very old ivory statue of Aphrodite

Praxis in her temple,[64] a draped ξοανον of Dionysus Lasyllius dedicated by Euchenor,[65] and a chryselephantine statue of Athena.[66] There were likewise ξόανα of Apollo Pythius and Apollo Tithe-receiver,[67] an ebony statue of Apollo divine οἰκιστής, other statues of Apollo and Artemis and the aniconic image of Apollo in the old Gymnasium.[68]

On the south slope of the hill of Minoa Pölte and Weicker found during their excavations[69] the right side of an interesting draped herm without head. The figure wore a Dorian chiton with border, a double mantle thrown over both shoulders and falling far down the back forming a roll on the nape of the neck.

The following small figurines[70] are also worthy of mention: a small statue of Asclepius, priestess of Artemis Orthosia, the workmanship of which is ordinary and late; two figures of a headless and armless Nike with long, flowing garments; a statue of Harpocrates.

F. Sculptured Reliefs.

We likewise possess several examples of sculptured reliefs. Two of these are preserved only in part.[71] The one is of Pentelic marble, delicately executed, and represents three men, three women, a boy and girl moving in solemn procession. The other is probably of Pentelic marble, not particularly well done but very pretty. It shows a man clad in chiton and clasys offering his hand in farewell to a woman unveiled and sitting down. Beside the latter stands another woman, and back of her chair a man wearing a cloak, and apparently in grief. A dog lies under the chair.

In his excavations about the temple of Zeus Ephesius,[72] Mr. Phillio found two sculptured plaques. The one was a figure in low relief made of Pentelic marble. It is preserved only in fragments which show the representations of a human foot, part of two sides and feet, and part of a

woman's trunk. The other was a limestone plaque in low relief representing griffins. The work is well done and may possibly have decorated some altar. Similar griffins were found in abundance at Olympia.

The relief of Hermes and the Nymphs has already been described in Chapter II, and in Chapter I. we mentioned the sculptured tomb of Coroebus in the market-place.

III. Pottery

A. The "Megarian Bowls."

Unless we include the so-called "Megarian Bowls" in our list, Megarian pottery is represented almost entirely by a large number of sherds found in various locations and representing various periods, from the earliest to the latest.

The name "Megarian" as applied to these famous bowls seems to be more or less of an accident as it was given to them simply because several were first found at Megara.[73] Others were discovered at Thebes in Boeotia, at Tanagra, Anthedon, and some in Calymnus, Crete, and Cyprus. They are made of red clay with a thin metallic glaze, and all are practically hemispherical. In workmanship they represent imitations of chased metal vases. The term "Homeric" has also been given to them because some of them represent Homeric subjects.[74] They belong to the Hellenistic period. Typical mythological scenes are the following: Dionysiac triumphal procession; battle of the Greeks and Amazons; Heracles seizing Auge; scenes from the Phoenissae of Euripides.[75]

B. Sherds from Nisaea and Minoa.

The most important finds of sherds were made by Dölte and Fleischer in their excavations about Minoa and Nisaea.[76] The earliest belonged to the Mycenaean period (L.M. III.) and included Matt-malerei and Minyan ware.[77]

Unfortunately there was no clearly-marked stratification. What appears to be early Helladic ware was also found.[78] On the surface at Vlnoa were discovered very old monochrome sherds of gray or yellow clay beside Mycenaean sherds, geometrical and proto-Corinthian ware, and B.F. and R.F. Attic vases. There were also Hellenistic sherds, obsidian knives, and scrapers mingled with them. In the single graves on the north and east terrace, one of which was 5 meters deep in clear earth, finds similar to the above were made. At varying depths the following were unearthed:

Depth of 1 meter. Hellenistic sherds with black wash over which was painted a design in the form of a garland of ivy; severe Attic B.F. sherds with bearded human head; fragments of vases made of gray clay.

Depth of 2 meters. Hellenistic and Attic B.F. sherds along with fragments of small jugs and bowls of proto-Corinthian; yellow Corinthian ware; sherds of poorly prepared yellow clay with matt-colored and gray clay pottery. The last named was found at all depths.

Depth of 3 meters. Pottery of yellow clay finely polished always accompanied by very coarse hand-made ware; black and gray clay sherds finely prepared and carefully polished with surface uniformly colored. The Aegerian sherds corresponded generally to the pre-Mycenaean black and gray clay pottery from Orchomenos and Aspis in Argolis in respect to profile and base. Along with the preceding was found pottery carelessly done by hand and made of black and yellowish-red clay. The clay was very impure and mingled with it were small particles of mica and limestone; on the outer surface it was covered with a thin wash.

The sherds with matt-surface show almost universally coarse clay without wash. They were decorated with concentric circles and groups of oblique lines, which would apparently place them among the pre-Hellenic

finds. The Mycenaean pottery with glaze painting was seldom found in proportion, but there were sufficient characteristic patterns of volutes-and-flower and scale patterns.

The Geometric sherds with stripes and groups of zigzag lines and rows of beads in parallel lines were sometimes difficult to classify. So far no Dipylon vases or Boeotian-Geometric ware has been found.

There was an abundance of proto-Corinthian ware. It consisted for the most part of small, thin-sided bowls with stripes and zigzag patterns. The Corinthian ware was made of yellow clay and for the most part carefully done. The decorations consisted of bands of animals and rosettes. There were many Attic B.F. but few A.F. sherds.

Hellenistic pottery was found with black glazed sherds containing grooves and painted decorations. Along an outside wall there were unearthed four slender, thin-walled lecythi of late Hellenistic times. They were made of gray clay with rounded lip. Along with them were also found pear-shaped vessels with tapering neck and high foot.

So far no specifically archaic Megarian ware has been found. But excavation of the acropolis of Nisaea may give us some interesting finds belonging to that period.

C. Miscellaneous Work from the Temple of Zeus Ephesius.

Important discoveries were likewise made by Philios in his excavation of the temple of Zeus Ephesius and the immediate vicinity. Following is an enumeration of the most important of them.[79]

The body of a horse or bull such as were found in great abundance at Pheneis, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Olympia; the foot of a lion-like animal, the snout of a pig, the fragment of a lion-headed spout; sherds of large, perforated flat or conical vessels.

Fragments of large πίθοι made of white clay shading to pale-yellow or reddish, and having on their outside carved geometrical figures. The decoration differs somewhat from that of similar vessels found at Tiryns, Crete, or on the Acropolis at Athens.

The fragment of a φιάλη-shaped vessel decorated with concentric circles of geometric design; many fine fragments of Corinthian ware with representations of animals (generally lions) and birds; fragments of sirens, sphinxes, and human forms.

There were also three specimens of the head of a man with horns similar to the representations of Achelous in the cave southwest of Megara.

Some bronze work was also found. It consisted of two vessels 8 cm. high and 20 cm. in diameter, and a bronze dipper for taking water from deep wells similar to the dippers now used in Greece and especially to those of Theirus.

D. Hellenistic Pottery.

Some late sherds belonging to the third and second centuries B.C. were found at Argos.[30] They were made of a reddish clay and poorly done. The only form represented was the shallow cup without handles. The surface was covered with a brown or red glaze and the ornamentation, which was rather simple, consisted of figures in low relief.

E. Terracotta Figurines.

We also possess several terracotta figurines such as the following:

Aphrodite[31] standing and holding a dove on her right hand. She is clothed in long tunic. Pendants hang from her ears, and on her head is a crown surmounted by a polos. A garland of flowers projects in front. The figurine is 33 cm. high.

Hera[32] wearing long chiton and veil passing above the head and

covering the shoulders. On her head is a crown.

A goddess, probably Hebe.[83] She wears long chiton and veil enveloping the back part of the body thus forming a kind of nimbus. The edge of the veil about the head is decorated with ivy leaves.

Figurine[84] in the form of a flat cone, having rudimentary arms and a large head. Traces of brown paint show lines of waving hair and folds of a female robe.

IV. Other Work.

Under this head may be grouped several works of art not previously mentioned. We have mention of an alabastrum covered with a dull white wash on which the figures were painted in black and represent two negroes.[85] They seem to be running to the right with heads turned in the opposite direction. They wear variegated pants, long-sleeved shirts, and Phrygian caps. The first one carries what appear to be bow and arrow, the second one a double axe in his right hand.

Other individual vases are as follows:

A polychrome lecythus[86] representing Eros between an ephebe and young girl.

A broken amphora[87] representing a sacrifice before the statue of Athena Nike.

A Nasiturna[88] of Corinthian style with animal decorations.

One specimen of Glazomenian ware.[89] This is a broken scyphus from the temple of Zeus Aphesius.

Some interesting finds were made by Lenormant[90] in a grave at the base of the Cyclopean walls on the acropolis Caria, which probably dates about 650 B.C. The following articles were found:

Three gold rings in repousse ornamented with human heads with hair

in Egyptian fashion, such as is commonly seen in early Greek work.

Bronze fibulae in the shape of a marine bivalve.

Parts of a necklace composed of small pearls of blue enamel.

A Carnelian intaglio in the form of a scarab.

Fragments of a vase with porcelain glaze.

Finally, we may mention a bronze mirror[91] and a cuirasse,[92] both containing decorations. The mirror was supported on a statuette of Aphrodite. On the edge of the mirror are two cocks, a hare, and perhaps a weasel. At the base of the mirror and on each side of the goddess' head are winged cupids. The goddess is clothed in chiton and cloak, and holds in her extended right hand an apple. Her left hand grasps the chiton. The mirror is 37 cm. high.

We have comparatively few Megarian coins. Certain wheel-shaped copper obols and half obols belonging to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. have been given to Megaris by Svoronos[93] because they were found along the southern coast; but they are without inscription and of Euboic weight, hence Head[94] and Gardner[95] have expressed some doubt concerning their origin. In view of Megara's flourishing trade during this early period it seems strange that she should not have early coins. But she seems to have been without silver mines[96] and may have depended upon foreign coinage. We have already mentioned the later coins[97] in our study of the cults. These belong to a period extending from the fourth century to Roman times and are the first inscribed Megarian coins.

Notes to Chapter III.

1. Cf. Beinganum, De Indole atque Origine Megarensium, p. 40.

2. Paus. I. 44.6. Pollux (VII. 100) calls it κογχιδίας λίθος. The form λίθος κογχυλιάτης is sometimes used (Xen. Anab. III. 4.10; Philostratus, Vit. Apoll. II. 20).

3. Godwell, Tour of Greece, II. 178 and note 2.

4. Fursian, Geographie von Griechenland, I. 369 f.

5. So Beinganum, Das alte Megaris, p. 41. But Gauer (Parteien u. Politiker in Megara u. Athen, p. 27) thinks that the people to the north, who probably constituted Megara's early customers, would have very little use for stone.

6. Cf. Blümner, Gewerbe u. Künste bei den Griechen u. Römern, III. 57 ff. IV, 423, II 296 and Kl. [illegible] XVIII, (2) 2, [illegible]

7. See Chapter I. p. 2.

8. Pliny, N.H., 17.42; Hölte s.v. Kimolia in Pauly-Wissowa.

9. Cf. Diod. Sic. XI. 78, Thucy. 1. 105; Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, II. 413; Godwell, op. cit. II. 178. Beinganum (op.cit. p. 39 f.) took the word Κιμωλία to mean "White Field" and identified it with the Λευκὸν Πεδίον over which Ino is said to have gone on her way to the sea (Etymol. Mag. s.v. Λευκοθέα). But this is impossible in view of the passages cited from Diodorus and Thucydides. Cf. Hölte, l.c. Κίμωλος was likewise the name of a small island belonging to the Melos group of the Cyclades, and Κιμωλία γῆ was a kind of a white, ash-coloured soil used as fuller's earth. (Cf. Aristoph. Frogs 712, Strabo 10.5.1, Pliny N.H. 4.70, 35.194 f., Ovid, Metam. 7.463, Athen. 3. 123 d, I.G. 12, No. 1252, Head, op.cit. p. 484). But the Κιμωλία γῆ of Megaris and Melos were undoubtedly different, the former being a clay suitable for pottery, the latter used for cleansing purposes. The name Κίμωλος is probably a non-Hellenic word (Fick, Vorgriechische Ortsnamen, p. 39), and Hölte (l.c.) thinks that etymologically

Κιμωλία means, "the place of the gray clay," although he rejects the idea that it was used for the construction of pottery. But Pliny (N.H. 17, 42) connects such a white clay with Megaris, and foreign names such as Κιμωλία are quite common in that country, as we shall see later.

10. See Dyer in J.H.S. XXVI. (1906). p. 63, n. 47.

11. Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art, VIII. 506, name only one, the Apollo. In the Berlin Antiquarium (Inv. 8256) is the figure of a crouching woman similar to certain archaic Attic figures. While this work is said to have been found in Megara, it is quite like two figures in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. See Casson, Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, II. p. 381, and Arch. Anz. 7 (1892) p. 108, No. 27.

12. For the detailed description see Deonna, Les Apollons Archaiques 1909, especially pp. 185 f., where the previous literature is cited.

13. It is Naxian according to Gardner (Handbook, p. 160), Bauer, Rolleaux, Perrot; Parian according to Overbeck; Pentelic according to Kekulé and Sybel. Deonna follows Lepsius in calling it "marble of the islands." See Deonna, op.cit. p. 188 and n. 1.

14. Deonna, op. cit. pp. 45 f.

15. These features are clearly brought out in Fig. 104 of Pl. V., Deonna, op. cit. p. 80.

16. Helbrück (Ath. Mitt. XXV. (1900). 381) thought that it was the latest of the "Apollos."

17. Helbrück, l.c. p. 378.

18. Bauer, Ath. Mitt. XVII. (1892). 40.

19. Perrot et Chipiez, op. cit. VIII. 507.

20. They have been restored by Treu in Olympia die Bronzen, etc. Berlin 1892-1897., Pl. iii. See also Dyer in J.H.S. XXVI. (1906). p. 59. But in

Baumeister, Denkmäler, VII. Pl. XVI, the sculptures of the pediment are omitted entirely.

21. See Hermes XXV (1890). pp. 194 f. Cf. Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Kallikles.

22. Paus. VI. 7.2: τοῦ Διαγόρου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα Μεγαρεὺς ἐλογάσατο Καλλικλῆς Θεοκόσμου τοῦ πολίσαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Μεγάροις τοῦ Διός

23. Aristotle in schol. on Pind. Ol. VII, Int.

24. Dittenberger-Purgold, Die Inschriften von Olympia, on No. 161. All victors had the privilege of setting up statues of themselves (Pliny N.H. XXXIV. 16), but not all did so (Paus. VI. 1.1). Their relatives might erect the statue for them (Hyde, Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art. p. 30). While the erection usually took place soon after the victory we have examples of statues being set up long afterward (Hyde, op. cit. pp. 31 f.).

25. See below s.v. Theocosmus II.

26. This possibility is suggested merely by the fact that we have no actual mention of Theocosmus I.

27. Pindar. Ol. VII.

28. Aristotle, l.c.

29. Hyde, op. cit. pp. 45 f.

30. Hyde, op. cit. p. 130; Hitzig-Blümner on Paus. VI, 7.2.

31. Dittenberger u. Purgold, op. cit. No. 161.

32. Paus. VI. 7.9.

33. Pliny, N.H. XXXIV. 87.

34. In Röm. Mitth. X. (1895). 97-110.

35. Paus. l.c.

36. See Röm. Mitt. X, Pl. I.

37. So in general, Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p. 231.

38. Paus. I. 40. 4. This passage is commonly cited in the handbooks as a locus classicus indicating the way in which an ancient statue was constructed. See for example Gardner, Handbook of Greek Sculpture, p. 18.

39. So Murray, Hist. of Gk. Sculpture, II. 137 f.; Overbeck, Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik[4], I. 385; Curtius, Über Pausanias, 432 f.; Frazer on Paus. I. 40.4.

40. Hitzig-Blümner on Paus. I. 40. 4.

41. Blümner, Gewerbe u. Künste. II. 111. Schubert has suggested (Ph. Woch. N.F. XV (1960). 88) that the body may have been made of burnt clay, the hands and feet of gypsum, and the entire statue clothed, but this seems quite unnatural. In such chryselephantine statues the hair and drapery were usually of gold, while the flesh parts were of ivory.

42. See Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. VI. (1885). 53 f.

43. Paus. X, 9.3.

44. Xen. Hell. I. 6.12; Dem. Or. 23. 212.

45. See Paus. X. 9. 7-10. Cf. P. Gardner, Handbook of Greek Sculpture, pp. 330 f.; A.C. Murray, op. cit. II. 139; Overbeck, l.c.

46. For Cynisca see Xen. Ages. IX. 6; Paus. III. 15. 1, 17. 6; V. 12.5; VI. 1.6; Anth. Pal. XIII. 16. J.H.S. 15 (1911). 60; Hyde, op. cit. p. 267.

47. See Dittenberger u. Purgold, op. cit. No. 160.

48. Pliny, N.H. XXXIV. 86. The reading adorantes was suggested by Furtwängler for adornantes se of the MSS. See Hyde, op. cit. p. 131.

49. See Emerson in A.J.A. 1.c.; Hyde, op.cit. p. 267.

50. Dittenberger u. Purgold, op.cit. No. 634. Cf. Löwy, Inschr. Griech. Bildh. No. 120.

51. See Overbeck, Ant. Schriftq. p. 192. But this same author (Gesch. der Griech. Plastik, I. 340) apparently did not recognize him as belonging to Argos since he lists as Aegenian sculptors only Dinocrates and Callicles.

52. Trans. Gesch. Griech. Sprachw., I. 277; Blümner, Technol. Gewerbe Griech. u. Röm. I. 99-100.

53. See Ath. Mitt. 29, (1904). 89-98. Jahrb. des Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 35. (1920). 62-65.

54. See I.G. II. 1425; Löwy,. op. cit. No. 110.

55. Paus. I. 40.3; 42.2,3,5,6,44. 2.

56. Paus. I. 42.6. See also Chapter II, note 93.

57. Paus. I. 40. 3.

58. Paus. I. 40.6.

59. Paus. I. 43.6.

60. Löwy, op.cit. No. 222.

61. Paus. I. 44. 4. Cf. 40.2.

62. Paus. I. 44.8.

63. See Ἐφ Ἀρχ. 1900, p. 42, note 2, and Pl. 6, No. 3.

64. Paus. I. 42.6.

65. Paus. I. 43. 5.

66. Paus. I. 42. 4.

67. Paus. I. 42.5. For a discussion of the meaning of the word ξοανον in Pausanias see Miss Fennell in A.J.A. 21, (1917). 8-21. Her final conclusion is (p.16) that the ξοανον was "an ancient wooden statue of a deity, male or female, carved after any type desired, i.e., standing, seated, draped, or nude." She thinks that the Aeginetan ξόανα were a later artistic development of the earlier and ruder ξόανα which came to Greece by way of Crete.

68. Paus. I. 44.2.

69. See Ath. Mitt. 29 (1904). 89.

70. See Michaelis, Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, p. 231, Winnefeld, Inventaire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine, II. p. 486, No. 10 and p. 493, No. 8

71. See Michaelis, op. cit. p. 231.

72. See Ἐφ Ἀρχ 1890, p. 43 and notes.

73. See in general Walters, History of Anc. Pottery, I. 2, [illegible] Robert, Comm. Becker, Winckelmanns progr. 1890, E.Pfuhl, Malerei u. Zeichnung der Griechen, II. sections 1202,1204.

74. Suetonius (Nero, 47) states that Nero made frequent use of such bowls.

75. Cf. Walters, Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum, IV. pp. 251-256.

76. The details are given in Ath. Mitt. XIX (1894). pp. 79-100.

77. See Wace-Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, p. 223. Dimmen, Die Kret.-Myk.Kultur,p.9

78. See Ath. Mitt., l.c. p. 95 and Wiegen Korallen, p.111, n.8.

79. See Ἐφ Ἀρχ 1890, pp. 21-56 with the accompanying plates.

80. See Waldstein, The Argive Heraeum, II. 182 f.

81. See Cat. Arch. 1876, p. 46, Pl. 15.

82. Ibid. pp. 49 f.

83. Ibid. p. 46, Pl. 15.

84. See Cat. Arch. 1876, p. 51.

85. See Ath. Mitt. 14 (1889) b, [illegible], Grace Hadley Beardsley, The Ethiopian in Greek and Roman Civilization, Baltimore 1922, pp. 60-64.

86. See Reinach, Répertoire Des Vases Peints Grecs et Etrusques, I, p.58.

87. See Reinach, l.c. p. 396.

88. See Michaelis, op.cit. p.275.

89. See E. Pfuhl, op.cit., p. 177.

90. See Cat. Arch. 1876, p. 51.

91. See Reinach, Répertoire Statuaire Grecque et Romaine, II, p.328, No. 7, Arch. Zeitung 1876, Pl. 12.

92. See Reinach, l.c. p. 327, No. 1.

93. Svoronos, Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num. 1899, pp. 178-4.

94. Head, Hist. Num. pp. 389, 392.

[illegible]. [illegible]. Gardner, History of Ancient Coinage, [illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible]. Laffranchi, The Head, 117; Chapter I, note 10.

[illegible]. The Head, op.cit. pp. [illegible], 117; Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, J.H.S. 7(1886), [illegible].

CHAPTER IV.

Architecture.

An ancient proverb said that "the Megarians build as if they would live forever, and eat as if they would die tomorrow." [1] This saying was aimed, of course, at Megarian character but, like most wise saws of its kind, it contains at least a half truth. For the substantial character of Megarian buildings, wherever any traces are left, is very impressive. So at Aegosthena[2] the city walls were 12 feet thick and made of heavy blocks. The main walls of the temple of Zeus Aphesius were constructed of heavy polygonal blocks reminding one of the walls of Mycenae.[3] As we shall see below, the supporting walls of the Fountain-House of Theagenes were made of large hewn blocks of limestone bound together by cramps. If the native material out of which most of the buildings were constructed had been more durable we should have, no doubt, many other examples of this famous Megarian workmanship. Unfortunately Pausanias has not given us any detailed description of the monuments he saw when he visited Megara.[4]

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in the building of aqueducts Megara was famous in the ancient world; perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that, in this respect, she was the teacher of Greece. For she not only built the great aqueduct on the island of Samos and the Fountain-House of Theagenes but these structures seem to have been the prototypes of all similar undertakings at Athens and Corinth. The Treasury at Olympia, also is a worthy monument to Megarian skill.

I. The Treasury at Olympia.[5]

This Treasury stood next to that of the Geloans' and was fourth in the entire list of twelve. Only the foundations remain on the terrace. The

dimensions were 6.80 m. x 12.29 m., about the average size of the Treasuries here. The following parts of the building were unearthed about 250 meters from the foundation:

(a) Stones from the stylobate.

(b) Drums and capitals. These seem to show that the columns were about 3.5 meters high and lacked ἔντασις entirely.

(c) Blocks from the architrave. The latter extended across the space between the two columns in antis and had an inscription ΜΕΓ[Α Ρ]Ε ΩΝ in Hellenistic characters.

(d) Triglyphs and metopes for the frieze.

(e) Parts of the horizontal and raking cornices.

(f) Tiles from the roof.

(g) Parts of five sculptured blocks. These filled the tympanum, and represented in archaic style the battle of the gods and giants. See Chapter III.

There was no architrave nor frieze along the sides since this Treasury was built after the Treasuries of the Geloans and Metapontines, between which it stood.[6] But there were at the two south corners partial metopes that ran a short distance along each side to give the allusion of a continuous frieze. There is no doubt that the building was a temple in antis.

The columns were Doric. On the front side they had eleven flutings, on the back nine were left as flat, unfluted vertical faces. At the top the three horizontal flutings were carried only half-way around. The curve of the echinus was parabolic, the abacus archaic in form.

No traces of color were to be found on the capitals or metopes. But a dark blue encaustic had left clear traces on the triglyphs, regulae, mutules, and trunnels. There were traces of red on the upper parts of the architrave and on the narrow band below, on the interspaces between the mutules, on the

Lois unties

taeniae above the regulae. The same brilliant colors were found on the sculptures of the pediment.

Around the sides at the top ran a terracotta band painted with a fret and surmounted by antefixes, at intervals, in the form of palmettes. There were waterspouts only at the corners in the form of lion-heads very animated.[7]

The raking cornice was made of terracotta in archaic form and decorated with palmette designs. The sima was in the form of a convex curve and was found only on the pediment leaving "dripping eaves" on the sides, as in the case of the Parthenon. The acroterium of the raking cornice was the shield taken from the Corinthians.

The tympanum of the pediment was .744 meter high and 5.70 meters wide. The material was yellowish (travertine) limestone from the Alpheus valley. The sculptures were in high relief and the background was painted a brilliant lightish blue, traces of which were still to be seen when the sculptures were unearthed. Red oxide was employed on various parts of the figures as the latter clearly showed. And evidently all nude parts were painted if we can judge by the condition of their preservation.[8] We have already described the figures in Chapter III.

Regarding the time of building, we can place the terminus ante quem, on the basis of workmanship, architecture, decoration, sculpture as the sixth century. Its building may have coincided with the great period of colonization (678-628 B.C.) or with the times of Theagenes the tyrant (c. 625-600 B.C.) The latter seems to be the more likely. It was undoubtedly built before the Treasury of the Selinuntines. The general conditions under which the others were erected suggest this conclusion also.

This is one of two Treasuries which were built by the states of Greece proper; nearly all the others were built by colonists. It is apparently

the only one erected with funds taken from another Greek town.[9] Hence there seems to be a measure of sarcasm in this act of dedicating a building to Zeus (and not Apollo) at Olympia from spoils taken from the Corinthians. It is probably for this reason that the proverb Διὸς Κόρινθος is always associated with this act.[10]

Such a Treasury was essentially a dedicatory offering to the god although a patriotic act as well.[11] To build so far away from home as at Delphi or Olympia at this early time was no easy matter. Dyer well says:[12] "The choice of a far-off site testifies to some quickening religious experience, and the difficulties overcome in detail are eloquent of some thrilling and uplifting home crisis." But it was a communal house as well and a ritual head-quarters, where the necessary sacred vessels and utensils were in readiness for the official delegates.[13]

II. The Treasury at Delphi.

The structure now called Syracusan was at one time called, among other designations, Megarian.[14] It is in the Doric style and made of gray limestone. On the stones of the south wall were found 42 inscriptions of which 26 were for Megarians.[15] They are all to be dated 320-220 B.C. Winsmoor[16] has suggested that the Megarians were now too poor to afford a Treasury at Delphi and were therefore reduced to the necessity of using the basement of this building for that purpose.

III. The Aqueduct of Eupalinus on Samos.[17]

Herodotus[18] names as the three great wonders on the island of Samos the mole, the temple of Hera, and the aqueduct of Eupalinus. This is the only reference that we find in ancient literature to the aqueduct on Samos and its builder, Eupalinus of Megara.[19] The time is fixed as the sixth century by the association on the part of Herodotus of the three great wonders

of Samos with the story of Polycrates and the statement of Aristotle[20] that it was the policy of the ancient tyrants to keep the subject population employed with great building enterprises. In this connection he speaks of "the works of Polycrates." We can safely conclude, therefore, that the construction of the great mole, the temple of Hera, and the aqueduct of Eupalinus all belong to the floruit of Polycrates.

Of modern travellers Ross[21] attempted to locate the beginning of the aqueduct but was prevented from carrying out his project on account of quarantine. Guerin[22] also had to give up his attempt to locate it. It is due to the Abbott of the Monastery of Hagia Trias that the source was finally unearthed in 1882. The city of Samos (mod. Tigani)[23] lies between the south coast of the island and Mt. Ampelos (mod. Castro), which extends from east to west and at its highest point is 228 meters. The spring which constituted the source of the aqueduct lies about 400 meters north of the foot of Mt. Kastro.[24] Nearby are the three chapels of St. John called by the natives the Agiades. This spring is the only one that flows throughout the year.

The Spring-House at the Source.

Guerin[25] had located a large ancient reservoir under the three chapels of St. John, which he considered to be the source of the water supply. In shape this reservoir resembled a right-angle triangle with the hypotenuse in the form of a slightly rounded irregular curve. The latter was formed by the polished face of a cliff. The longer side (7.60 m.) was built out of blocks of limestone neatly fitted together, the shorter side (5.57 m.) of late brick walls inserted between columns originally free. The old wall stood back of this brick wall. Within the fountain-house were 15 square limestone columns made of heavy blocks. They stood in four rows parallel to the longer wall. Each had a projecting square base .75 meter on a side and .45 meter thick. The shaft of the columns was generally composed of three blocks

of unequal height and .60 meter thick. The total height would be about 1.70 meters.[26] The blocks were carefully shaped but apparently not doweled.

The roof was composed of flat stone slabs placed between the rafters. It is still partly in place and forms the floor of the present church of St. John. The floor was made of limestone slabs. Beneath it near the north corner of the "hypotenuse" were found two openings (.20 m. x .30 m.) which served to admit the water. Opposite them in the long side are two additional openings one above the other. The upper one probably served as an exit for the water into the aqueduct; through the lower one the reservoir was cleaned. The entire spring-house was originally covered over with earth and accessible only to those who had special charge of it.

There were two paths by which the water could be brought into the city: either by encircling Mt. Kastro on the west, as the later Roman aqueduct actually did, or by carrying it over a more direct route by tunneling through the mountain. The former would be much longer and would leave the aqueduct more exposed to the enemy in case the city was besieged; the latter ensured greater security. Eupalinus chose the latter. The point at which the aqueduct should start was chosen both for the sake of the fall necessary to carry the water into the city, and with an eye to security from an enemy. It will now be found convenient to describe the aqueduct in two sections: first, the division beginning at the source, about 10 meters south of the present chapel of St. John, and following an irregular course to the point at which it enters the north slope of Mt. Kastro; secondly, the straight path through the tunnel in the mountain which has its exit at the south slope of Mt. Kastro.

From the Source to the Tunnel.

Between these two points the aqueduct ran entirely underground in an irregular course. It followed a southerly direction for 130 meters from

the reservoir when it had to turn eastward to pass under the bed of a waddy. It now turned to the south and then to the west, and finally to the east again running along the right bank of the Kastro spring and the base of the mountain until it passed under the spring -- a total distance of 556 meters from the source. Emerging on the south of the spring it followed a south-westerly direction in a fairly straight course for a distance of 297 meters until it entered the tunnel. A short distance from the latter it passed under the bed of a second waddy. The entire length of this section of the aqueduct would thus be 853 meters.

In constructing this part of the water-course shafts were sunk at irregular intervals for the purpose of removing the earth and rock. Twenty-such shafts have been counted.[27] Where the tunnel was not built in the solid rock flat stones were used to wall up the sides and similar flat slabs were placed across these to form a roof. The tunnel was high and wide enough for a man to move about in an upright position with ease. To carry the water, round clay tiles[28] were laid end to end and cemented together. In the top of the tiles holes were left so that the sediment might be removed whenever necessary.

The Tunnel Through the Mountain.

Here the tunnel was bored through solid lime-stone and on the sides are still to be seen the marks of the iron chisels that were used in cutting away the rock. Here also may be seen the little pockets in which the oil lamps were set while the workmen labored. Some of these lamps were found still in place. An opening was made 1.75 meters square. This would permit the workmen to stand upright and allow one gang to pass another as they removed the debris. These diminsions were kept quite uniformly and the tunnel is practically straight, its direction varying from the magnetic north and south line by 17°. But it is wider at the south opening than elsewhere.

This deviation from the norm of 1.75 meters begins at a point 200 meters from the mouth.

It is clear that the tunnel was excavated from both ends, but the amount of variation from a straight line occasioned by the meeting of these two initial shafts cannot now be determined. It may be as great as 5-10 meters laterally and 2.5-3 meters vertically. The north stretch measured about 575 meters and the south branch 475 meters. They were finally joined by a cavity excavated at right angles to each. From this we can see that the two branches of the tunnel overlapped at their meeting-point.[29] But on each side of this each section followed the original direction of 17° from the magnetic north and south line.

Each mouth of the tunnel was now narrowed by walling it up with large blocks of stone; and it is probable that each was covered with earth to conceal it from the searchings of an enemy that might lay seige to the town. A stone stair case led up to the south entrance.[30]

A trench was excavated in the bottom of the tunnel and in it were laid the tiles for carrying the water. This trench increased in depth from 2.53 meters at the north entrance to 8.25 meters at the mouth.[31] In the south stretch it was .60 meter wide and ran along the east wall. Thus a path of more than one meter would be left along the west side. In certain places a second narrower trench was found beneath the upper one at points where the excavation had to be carried to a considerable depth. The purpose of this second trench is not exactly clear.[32] The position of the spring would determine the amount of fall necessary. Fabricius suggests the possibility that the tunnel was begun before it was decided to locate the reservoir by the spring, which would have made the fall too slight; or, that possibly an error was made in calculating the amount of fall that would be given by the tunnel as constructed, and

that the trench was thereby made necessary. But the latter suggestion is, as he adds, rather unthinkable for an architect of the ability of Eupalinus. One point must be kept in mind: whether necessary for the fall or not this second, narrower trench would give the maximum of coolness with a minimum of labor, and it is conceivable that it was dug for this purpose as much perhaps as for that of greater fall.[33]

Forty-five meters from the south end of the tunnel the trench leaves the east wall and passes over to the right. Fifteen meters further on it leaves the tunnel entirely and passes toward the east-southeast.[34] It now assumes a subterranean form as did the first stretch of the tunnel from the spring to the north slope of Mt. Kastro. Here also 12 shafts were sunk at unequal intervals for removing débris. The entire length of this part is about 400 meters. Square tiles were laid in the center. The south wall contains holes through which pipes were led from the aqueduct to distribute the water over the city. Unfortunately the terminal fountain-house has not been excavated as undoubtedly it would have been if the project of Wiegand had been carried out.[35]

We know from an inscription[36] that one of the stoas in the marketplace had two very remarkable water-clocks which told the month, day, and hour. It is quite likely that a stream of water from the aqueduct operated these clocks since no other source of water supply is to be found in the neighborhood.

The description and measurements of the tunnel as given by Herodotus thus clearly agree in the main with the actual remains themselves. As he, no doubt, entered it from the south, his measurement of the second division of the tunnel containing the tile pipe is very close to what Fabricius found it to be. His statement that the length of the tunnel is seven stades is too

great but may be due to the fact that he was following what he had been told either by his guide or by others.[37] Since the aqueduct had been in existence for about 100 years at the time of Herodotus' visit, his figures may possibly also preserve the early and inexact measurements or be simply an approximate measurement.

The aqueduct was still in use in Roman times but its capacity apparently was not great enough for all purposes hence the Romans constructed another aqueduct around the west slope of Mt. Kastro.

IV. The Fountain-House of Theagenes.[38]

The excavation of the Fountain-House of Theagenes was carried out in 1899 by Delbrück under the commission of Dörpfeld. But as the site was occupied by private houses the excavators encountered great difficulties which made it impossible to do very thorough work. Nevertheless, the main features of the aqueduct were revealed and it was found to be similar in all essential parts to the aqueducts on Samos and at Athens.[39] The Fountain-House was located on the saddle between the two acropolises. The water-course followed a winding path down the slope for several kilometers to the plain where it divided into three branches leading toward the foot of the mountains. To form this water-course a trench was dug about 1.5 meters deep and .8 meter wide. Along the sides of the trench slabs of poros were placed either in single lengths or in two courses. Such was the case at Athens also except where the trench was cut into the solid rock. Earth was now packed into the bottom to the depth of one foot, and on this was laid a wide gutter made of tiles shaped like a $\frac{3}{4}$ circle. The clay out of which the tiles were composed was found to be hard and brittle and mixed with it were small crystals and pebbles. On the inside it was colored firey red, near the outside a grayish yellow. The outer surface was covered with a thin layer of yellow stucco.

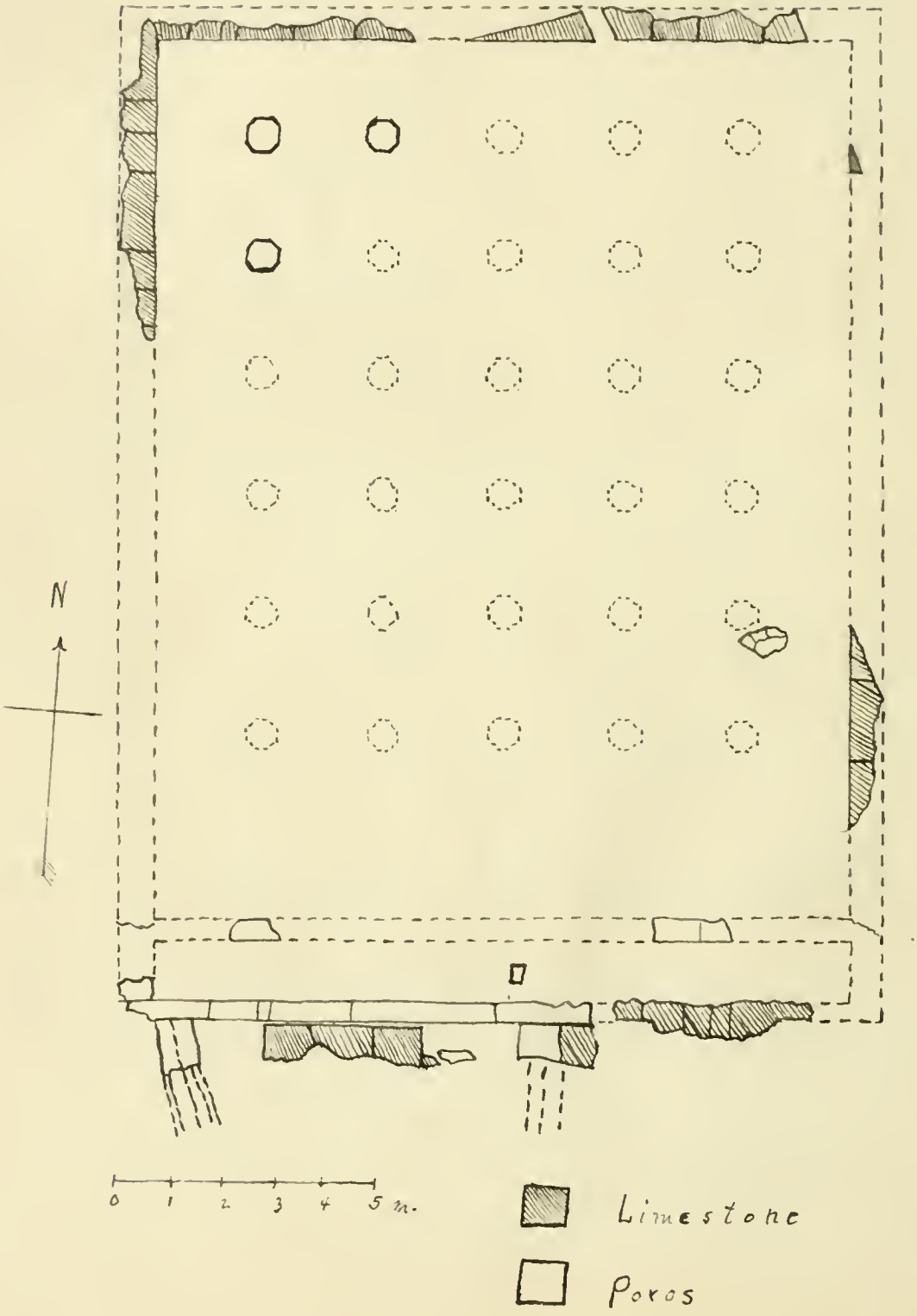
The individual tiles were dovetailed at the ends and bound together with stucco. Later, earth was filled in above this gutter and a second one laid above it. The latter was rectangular in shape and of similar construction to the first except that the stucco on the outer surface was lacking. In antiquity the trench must have been covered with some kind of flat top although no traces of this are to be found where the trench is still well preserved. However, at a point where the aqueduct runs underground there may still be seen heavy rough slabs resting upon later hewn stones.

The water-basin was 13.7 meters by 19 meters. The north and east walls and the north part of the west wall being supporting walls were constructed of large hewn blocks of gray Megarian limestone smoothed by means of a pick on all sides except the rear. These blocks were bound together by means of cramps, and were laid in regular courses of uniform height with break-joints. Occasionally a corner was not square either because wedge-shaped small stones had been packed in or because the stone had not been chiseled off. The height of each course was about .6 meter and there were from six to seven of such courses. But in a part of the east wall there were nine layers of which the two lowest, to a height of 1.25 meters, carried a coating of fine, solid, bright red stucco about the thickness of one's finger. Covering this was a layer of thick sinter. The bottom of the basin was constructed by spreading stucco over a course of large stone blocks. The remains of three octagonal columns of poros .5 meter thick were found resting upon a foundation of square poros blocks. These columns were set below the stuccoed bottom but were not covered with stucco.

The position of the columns enables us to restore in part the Fountain-House. There were four or five rows of six or seven columns each, but we are not certain of their height, the character of the capitals, or the

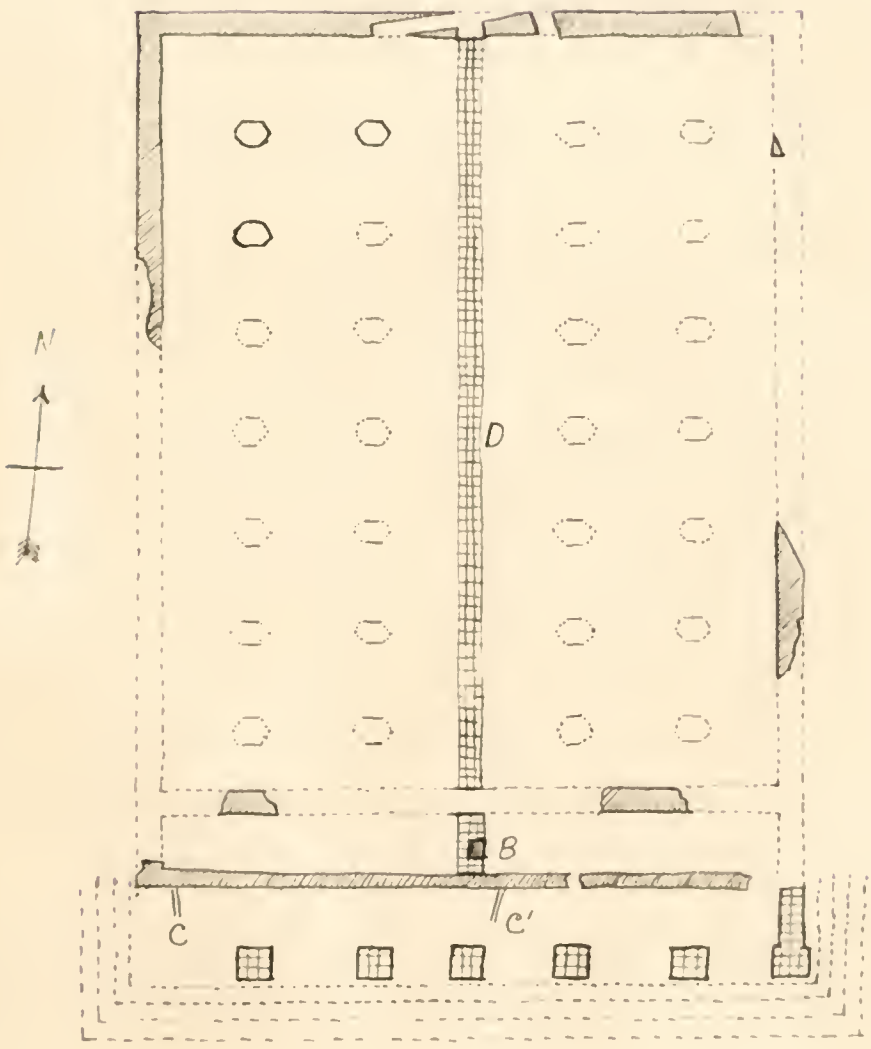
The Fountain-House of Theagenes.

After Delbrück and Vollmöller, Ath. Mitt., 1900, Pl. VIII.



The Fountain-house of Theagenes.

According to Elderkin's reconstruction, A. J. A. 1910, p. 48.



0 1 2 3 4 5 m.

Excavated in 509 by Delbrück.

Additions proposed by Elderkin.

way in which the roof was constructed.[40] Elderkin has put forward the theory that instead of there being but one large rear basin (see plan), there was probably a division wall (D in the plan) making two basins of equal size.[41] He bases his theory upon the fact that two drains were discovered in the narrow front basin, one at the west end and another just beyond the middle line (C and C1 in the plan). He thinks that two drains for one basin would be unnecessary and that the fountain-house was so constructed that one reservoir might be drained and cleaned while the other was being used without in any way disturbing the latter. Furthermore, a piece of a block (E in the plan) was discovered to the left of the second drain in a position such that it could have belonged to a dividing wall in line with that postulated for the large reservoir. This would indicate two small front basins instead of one.

Fifteen meters south of the Fountain-House were found five pipes of hard, red clay running close together in parallel lines from north to south. These probably served as extension pipes to carry the water to various parts of the city. From the extant remains it would appear that the south side of the Fountain-House was protected and decorated by columns in antis. Probably on the west there was at one time a portico where, according to Dörpfeld, the water may have flowed out of pipes led through the wall.

The name of the architect is not given but in all essential features this aqueduct is similar to that of Eupalinus on Samos. Hence it is highly probable that he or his followers constructed it. It is impossible to say which aqueduct is the original as the period of Theagenes is quite uncertain. But in one respect the aqueduct at Megara differs materially from that built for Polycrates, namely, in its artistic qualities. It is safe to say that such a structure was not only intended to give an abundant supply of wholesome water[42] but was also a kind of shrine to the deities of the spring. For Pau-

sanias tells us that when Theagenes turned aside the course of the streams in the village Rhus he dedicated there a shrine to Acheloüs;[43] and he further states that the water supplying this Fountain-House was called "the water of the Sithnidian Nymphs."[44] Since local tradition called Megarus, after whom the city was named, the son of a Sithnidian Nymph and Zeus,[45] we can infer that this Fountain-House was in all essential respects a temple or shrine.

Notes to Chapter IV.

1. Quoted by Tertullian, Apol. contra gentes.

2. See Frazer, Pausanias II, p. 543, Wasson, J.H.S. 15 (1895). 314-354.

3. See Philios in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, p. 33.

4. Cf. Chapter I.

5. For Treasuries in general see Dyer in J.H.S. XXV. 294-319; for the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, the same writer in J.H.S. XXVI. 58-66. The latter article is a special study of the great work Olympia die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung, Berlin 1892-1897.

6. For this reason the representation of the Treasury in Baumeister's Denkmäler, III, Pl. XLVI. is wrongly given.

7. Dyer suggests (J.H.S. XXVI, p. 62, note 46) that the lion's head on the northeast corner of the Parthenon may be a lineal descendent of this very animated Megarian lion's head. Its closest parallel, however, is the one coming from Himera, now in the Palermo Museum.

8. The representation in Baumeister, l.c., shows no sculptures.

9. See Pasu. IX. 19. 13. Pausanias cannot be correct in his statement that the building was erected from the spoils taken in the victory won by the Megarians over the Corinthians when Phorbas was archon at Athens. See next note.

10. This question is discussed in a later chapter. The supposed origin of the proverb is given by Apostolius (2.17): Διὸς Κόρινθος· ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ λεγόντων. ἐρρήθη δὲ δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· Μεγαρεῖς ὑπατεύοντες Κορινθίοις ἐβαρύνοντο τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι, καὶ φανερὸν ἦν ἀναστατοῦντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ. Κορινθίων δὲ πρέσβεις ἦλθον εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντες αὐτοῖς ἀγανακτοῦντες ἔβόων οὐκ ἀνέξεται ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος. φασὶ οὖν τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς

ἐκβάλλοντας αὐτοὺς πάλιν καὶ λέγειν· πατὲ τὸν Διὸς Κορινθον.

See Deutsch, Paroemiographi Graeci II. 368.

11. Dyer (J.H.S. XXV. pp. 301 ff.) summarizes the motives that inspired such building of Treasuries under two heads: (1) the worship of the god; (2) the glory of the state, not of any one ruler. As illustrations of (1) he gives the Treasury of the Potidaeans at Delphi (piety)

" " " Siphnians " " (atonement)

" " " Athenians " " (thanks for victory)

" " " Syracusans " Olymp. (thanks for victory over Carthage).

See Pausanias V. 2. 19, X. 11. 2-5. There were other motives as well, as for example, that of display on the part of the Cnidians at Delphi (Cf. Paus. X. 11. 5; Poulsen, Delphi, pp. 239-245). It seems rather strange, however, that the Megariars should dedicate a building to Zeus, and not to Apollo, at this early period. As we have seen in our study of the cults, the Megarian worship of Zeus was confined to his various manifestations as god of the sky. To them Apollo was the god of victory par excellence. Hence, it has been suggested that this dedication to Zeus the god of Corinth may be a bit of sarcasm, or better, a high note of triumph.

12. See J.H.S. XXV, p. 303.

13. The regular word for such buildings at Olympia and Delphi was θησαυρός, which means "communal house." But the word ναός was also appropriate, as the foundations of the Sicyonians' and Megarians' buildings seem to indicate by their orientation. The word θησαυρός, which Pausanias applies to them, originally meant only something precious kept within such holy edifice--

a sacred deposit: but the splendor of the buildings at Olympia and Delphi suggests that this earlier meaning of θησαυρός was largely preserved in that the treasure to be found here was not something within the building as formerly, something apart from it, but the very building itself. Cf. Dyer, l.c. p. 384.

14. See Fouilles de Delphes, II, Pl. 6.

15. They are given in Fouilles de Delphes, III, i, Nos. 155-196.

16. In B.C.H. XXXVI. (1912). 466.

17. See Fabricius in Ath. Mitt. IX (1884). 165-192. Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art, VIII, 22-29.

18. His account of Polycrates of Samos is given in III. 39-60. The main features of the aqueduct are described briefly in sec. 60.

19. This is Eupalinus, son of Naustrophus. We have already met a sculptor by the name of Eupalinus (See Chapter III.). The name was a common one in Megara (See Prosopographia).

20. Arist., Polit. V. 11. 4-5.

21. Ross, Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres, 1843, II. 119 f., 128.

22. Guerin, Description de l'Île de Patmos et de l'Île de Samos, 1856, 309 ff.

23. See the interesting description by Ross (op.cit. pp. 125 f.) and Fabricius (l.c. pp. 167 ff.). Strabo (XIV. 1. 14) says: ἔστι δ' αὐτῆς ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ τὸ πλεῖον ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης κλυζόμενον μέρος δέ τι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀνέχει τὸ ὑπερκείμενον. Mt. Kastro is less than half a mile from the sea.

24. Such a location would be ideal for a spring according to Vitruvius (De Architectura VIII. 1. 6, Morgan's trans.).

25. Guerin, op. cit. p. 310, quoted by Fabricius. The latter found it still in use in 1884.

26. Detailed measurements of all parts of the fountain-house are given by Fabricius, l.c. p. 172 and note 1.

27. For details see Fabricius l.c. p. 174, n. 4. Vitruvius (op.cit. VIII. 6.3) advises that shafts be sunk at intervals of 240 feet.

28. For details see Fabricius, l.c., pp. 175 f. and notes. The round tiles are the older; the square ones came into use at a considerably later period. We find both kinds similarly used at Megara (Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900). 24) and in the Enneacrunus at Athens (Ath. Mitt. XXX (1905). 28).

29. See Fabricius, l.c. pp. 178 f. Exact determination of the amount of variation laterally and vertically was made impossible for the investigator because the roof of the meeting-place had caved in.

30. Interesting details are given by Fabricius, l.c. p. 180 and notes.

31. For the details at various points see Fabricius, l.c. p. 184, note 2.

32. Such trenches are found also at Syracuse, Acragas, and Athens (Fabricius in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Tupalinus 2).

33. At Megara there was a fall of 2.50 meters between the water basin and a point in the northern part of the city -- a comparatively short distance. Vitruvius (VIII. 6. 1) gives for the minimum of the gradient of the channel for such a conduit $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to the 100 feet. But he was thinking of Roman aqueducts, no doubt, with their long straight stretches and smooth concrete water troughs.

34. A similar arrangement was found in the aqueduct leading to the Enneacrunus at Athens. Gräber (Ath. Mitt. XXX (1905). 26) suggests that in both cases this device was meant to conceal the entrance to the tunnel from undesirable parties. In the case of the Enneacrunus, however, the second pipe extends a distance of only about 15 meters.

35. Cf. Wiegand, Erster Vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Königlichen

Museen unternommen Ausgrabungen in Samos, Berlin, 1911.

36. See B.C.H. V. (1881). 478-80.

37. It is assumed that Herodotus' description applies especially to the tunnel through the mountain and not the entire stretch from the spring to the mouth. If the latter were true, his figures would be too small.

38. See Delbrück and Vollmöller in Ath. Mitt. XXV. (1900). 23-33; Elderkin in A.J.A. XIV (1910). 19-50; Perrot et Chipiez, VIII. 37-40.

39. According to Gräber (Ath. Mitt. XXX. (1905). 59) the Megarian aqueduct formed the model for the Enneacrunus. The fountain Glance at Athens was indebted to it for at least one important detail of construction (Elderkin in A.J.A. 1910. p. 49).

40. Pausanias was impressed with the building. He says (I. 40. 1):
οὗτος ὁ Θεαγένης τυραννήσας ὠκοδόμησε τὴν κρήνην μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ κόσμου καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ῥευμάτων θέας ἄξίαν.

41. This dividing wall would then take the place of the central row of columns according to Delbrück's reconstruction (Ath. Mitt. XXV. Pl. VIII); according to his plan there was one rear basin and one narrow front basin.

42. Pausanias speaks of such a water-conduit as a necessity and characteristic of any well organized town. See his description of the city Panopeus (X. 4. 1). See also the encomium of fresh water in Vitruvius VIII. Int.

43. Paus. I. 41. 2. See Chapter II. s.v. XXIX. Achelous.

44. Paus. I. 40. 1.

45. Ibid. See Chapter II. s.v. XIV. The Sithnidian Nymphs.

Chapter V.

The Mythical Kings and the Heroic Age.

The beginnings of Megara are prehistoric. Myth gives us a list of early kings[1] most of whom are rather dim personalities; and this list is further complicated by the fact that there are many lines of tradition embodied in it--native Megarian, Boeotian, Athenian, Argive, and Thessalian. Hence, any attempt to set forth the probable course of events during the prehistoric period must be guided by the principle--which is clearly reflected in the myths--that the Megarian state did not begin in a simple way but rather that it came to be such as we find it in historical times as the result of various influences, both internal and external, political and religious, which were at work during considerable periods of time.

Car.

According to local tradition the first king was Car, son of Phoroneus.[2] He built a temple to Demeter and from it, the Μέγαρον, called the people Μεγαρεῖς. The hill which he had previously fortified he called after himself Caria (Καρία). This is the acropolis Caria that we studied in Chapter I. The myth, no doubt, contains a considerable element of truth and reflects the period when the Carians of Caria Minor established themselves on the coast of Megaris.[3] Later generations, therefore, in attempting to reconstruct this early period postulated a king or leader Car in conformity with the principle of the aetiological myth. Consequently, while we can accept as historical the presence of the Carians on the Megarian coast,[4] a king named Car is no doubt the invention of later generations or of the later genealogists. It is very probable, however, that the myth reflects the true relationship between the worship of Demeter and the first permanent settlements at Megara, for we know that her worship was very old

both in Megara and elsewhere.[6]

Eleven Generations.

Between Car and the next king that is definitely named there occurs a break in the tradition and to fill the intervening space apparently eleven generations[7] were inserted by the genealogists. This lacuna may be due either to the absence of a tradition at Megara, or, as some hold, to the desire on the part of the genealogists to bring their list of kings into harmony with that of Argos.[8] Pausanias offers no explanation.

Lelex.

In the twelfth generation after Car Lelex came from Egypt. He was the son of Poseidon and Libya. During his reign the people were called Leleges.[9] This myth is very similar to that of Car and no doubt was constructed upon the same principle. In an early time the Leleges[c] were probably a seafaring people who worshipped Poseidon as their patron deity. Like Demeter, Poseidon is a pre-Hellenic god, and according to an old tradition his religion was originally brought from Egypt.[10] We may conclude, then, that at some early period the Leleges came across the Aegean and established themselves at least temporarily along the Megarian coast, bringing with them the worship of their sea-divinity. Hence it may be no accident that Poseidon's temple stood along the southern coast.[11]

Cleson and Dylas.

Lelex[12] was succeeded on the throne by his son Cleson, concerning whom we know nothing more. He, in turn, was followed by his son Dylas,[13] who enjoyed only a brief reign for he slew his maternal uncle and was therefore compelled to flee leaving the throne to Pandion II. of Athens, who had previously taken refuge in Megara.[14]

Pandion II.

The myth of Pandion's flight probably reflects the period of the

Ionian migration[1] and its spread from thence into Megaris; for these see an ancient tradition which said that these countries had once been populated by the Ionians, and that the former extended as far as the district of Dekeleia.[2] Is Pandion represents the invading Ionians so Lelex stands for the ruling element of the Pelasgi, who were naturally subjected to the newcomers. But a part of the original inhabitants remained in the country, driven back no doubt to the hills and to the less desirable districts.

Pandion is said to have ruled for twenty-five years and to have had four sons.[17] According to one account[18] he divided his kingdom into four parts before his death and apportioned it to his sons. According to another story[19] his sons made the division after his death, and Nisus received Megaris as his realm. Nisus is therefore named as the next king of Megara.

Nisus.

His reign was far from peaceful and was much disturbed by troubles within and without. When he was about to take possession of his kingdom Sciron, we are told, opposed him. But Aeacus, chosen as umpire to decide the dispute, gave the rulership to Nisus and made Sciron general.[20] But according to another account, which seems the more probable, Sciron at the head of a band of robbers ravaged the territory of Megaris while Nisus successfully defended himself. If we bear in mind the tradition that Sciron was the son of Pylas[21] we have sufficient material for a fairly consistent historical interpretation.

We may assume that after their first settlement the Ionians kept increasing in numbers. But the Pelasgi, who were left in Megaris after the Ionian invasion, no doubt retained bitter recollections of harsh treatment at the hands of the newcomers. It is therefore only natural that, under the leadership of one of their number, they should give what opposition they could

to the king. Pressed back to the hilly and mountainous districts they would lead the life of outlaws and robbers. Events in connection with the invasion of Megara by Minos serve to strengthen this view.

During his reign Nisus is said to have enlarged Megara and to have protected it with a harbor town called after himself Nisaea;[22] and perhaps it is at this time that we should place the real beginning of Megarian commercial activity which becomes so prominent in its later history.[23] But disaster came upon Nisus from the Cretans who invaded the mainland of Greece at this time. After leaving Attica they first attacked Megara and conquered it. Then they laid siege to Nisaea, whither Nisus had fled, and finally took it. Along with the Athenians it seems likely that the Megarians were forced to pay ransom. The latter, however, denied that the Cretans had ever invaded their country.[24]

It is in this connection that the famous story is told of Scylla and her rape of the lock of hair. During the siege by Minos, Nisaea appears to have offered stubborn resistance, and was taken at last through the treachery of Scylla. For an oracle had declared to Nisus that he would die if he lost a certain tawny (or purple) lock of hair. Now during the siege Scylla became enamored of Minos, cut the lock from her father's hair, and gave it to Minos. Thus the city was taken. Nisus was killed and his body buried by the Athenians;[26] or, according to another story,[27] he took his own life. This story early became famous and was extensively developed as a literary theme particularly by the Roman poets.[28]

In spite of Megarian denial the possibility of a Cretan invasion can hardly be doubted. During the Middle Minoan period the Cretans seem to have reached the Saronic gulf, the Euripus and the Boeotian gulf and settled as the civilizing Minyans.[29] The tradition of Cretan conquests of the Greek

mainland was most vividly preserved in the story of Theseus and the Minotaur, and in the name Minoa given to the little island off the harbor-town Nisaea. Here Minos is said to have anchored his fleet and to have left the memory of his name.[30] While we cannot hope to establish definite dates on the basis of this list of kings, it is safe to say that the presence of Cretans in Megara at this time is no anachronism for Mycenaean pottery has been found on the hill now generally identified as ancient Minoa.[31]

The legend of Scylla and her rape of the golden lock has been rationalized so that, along with that of Sciron, it may be used to establish certain interesting relationships between the early nationalities in Megaris. It is significant that Sciron is not mentioned during the Cretan invasion. But if he had been appointed general of Nisus' army, as the Megarians claimed, why should not he defend the city? It is therefore more likely that his true character was that of a robber-chief,[32] and that he even helped and encouraged Minos rather than Nisus.[33] Perhaps some treacherous element developed within Nisus' own army which finally betrayed the city to the enemy.[34] At any rate, the Leleges seem to have continued their lawlessness and brigandage for some time until, as myth would have it, their leader was slain by Theseus of Athens.[35]

Megareus.

Megareus succeeded Nisus on the throne. According to the local tradition[36] he was the son of Poseidon and son-in-law of Nisus. The Boeotians claimed[37] that when the latter was hard pressed by the Cretans, Megareus came from Onchestus (in Boeotia) to the aid of his brother-in-law. He lost his life in the war and was buried in Megara, which thereupon received its name from him since previously it had been called Nisa.

Why should aid come from Boeotia? Myth does not say, but it is

quite possible that at this early time there was some close bond of union between Megara and Onchestus. The latter was sacred to Poseidon[37] and as early as the appearance of the Iliad we have seen that this divinity was worshipped at Megara also. Since the mythology of Onchestus no doubt originally centered about the worship of Poseidon, it is highly probable that Megara and Onchestus ever at this early time were members of the same confederacy whose main purpose was to insure mutual aid against the common enemy. It would serve a purpose similar to the League of Calaureia also of which Megara and the towns of Boeotia were members. Hence at a time when the Cretans were threatening the south coast of the Greek mainland, it is only natural that Megara's neighbor on the north, her friend and ally, should come to her rescue.[38]

Alcathous.

During the reign of Megareus, Alcathous,[40] son of Pelops, came from Elis. He is by far the most striking personality among these early kings. We are informed that he came to Megara as a wanderer seeking a new home. But it was a dramatic moment. Great consternation had settled over the land of Megareus because of the ravages of a lion on Mt. Cithaeron. The beast had already slain one of the king's sons, hence a reward was offered by the king to the hero that could slay the lion; this reward was to be the king's daughter in marriage and succession to the throne. Alcathous undertook the task and, with the help of Apollo and Artemis, slew the lion and brought back his tongue to Megara as evidence of his deed. Thus he became son-in-law and successor to Megareus.

But great misfortune now pursued Alcathous. His daughter Iphinoe died in her youth, his older son Ischenolis met his death on the Calydonian Boar Hunt; and when the younger son, Callipolis, brought the sad news to his

father the latter slew him for what he considered to be an act of sacrilege on the part of Callipolis during the sacrifice which he (Alcathous) was performing to Apollo. Thus he lost both his sons. Although his end career might well have furnished material for some writer of tragedy the saga was almost entirely confined to local territory[41] where he was particularly celebrated as the grandfather of Ajax and builder of the walls of Megara. Furthermore, he is closely associated with the erection of temples and graves. For example, after slaying the lion of Mt. Cithaeron he constructed a temple to Apollo and Artemis. Before he began the building of the walls of Megara he sacrificed to the gods. To atone, in some measure at least, for the slaying of Ischepolis he built a tomb to the memory of the latter. In like manner he honored the memory of Timalcus and of his wives, Iphis and Iphinoe. Alcathous thus sums up in a single career the character of lion-slaying hero, builder of the city walls, eponymous hero of the western acropolis, and worshipper of the gods. In later times, public games (the Ἀλκάθοια) were celebrated in his honor at Eleusis.[43]

But what historical significance may we attach to this myth? It is natural to suppose that the invasion of the Cretans had left Megara in a condition that required considerable time for recovery. She was greatly weakened.[44] That she was still paying tribute to Minos is indicated by the story that Alcathous sent his daughter Periboea with Theseus to Crete.[45] That Alcathous re-built the walls is also quite probable. These apparent facts along with the belief that he was succeeded by Ajax and Tyrerion, suggest the probability that the Pelopidae gained a permanent hold in the country which was not released until the Dorian invasion; in fact, the Pelopid element was strong even after that event.[46]

Ajax.

Alcathous had outlived his sons Hence Ajax, his grandson, is said

to have succeeded him.[47] The latter is particularly noted for the union of Megara and Salamis under one rule,[48] and the Megarians apparently claimed that he had led their own contingent and that of Salamis to the Trojan War. But Ajax was killed at Troy and the rulership passed on to Hyperion, son of Agamemnon.[49]

Hyperion.

With the ascendency of Hyperion the house of Theseus succeeded to the power at Megara. But it did not enjoy rulership long for Hyperion was banished or slain for his ὕβρις,[50] a characteristic of the Atridae. With him the kingship also passed out and it is at this time that the Megarians date the beginning of republican institutions, the ἄρχοντες ἀπ' ἐτοῦ.[51]

Summary.

The above genealogy gives nineteen generations from the time of the first settlement by the Carians until the close of the Trojan War. If we take 1194 B.C., the traditional date of the sack of Troy, as a terminus ante quem and allow three generations to the century, as is commonly done, we derive the year 1817 B.C.[52] This would be about the beginning of Middle Minoan II., or late Middle Minoan I., Mycenaean times.[53] While it would be unwise to commit ourselves to a definite year on the basis of mere tradition, it is significant that archaeological finds confirm the probability of a definite settlement at Megara as early as Middle Minoan times. For not only have Mycenaean sherds been found at Megara, Minoa, and Nisaea, but there are also pre-Mycenaean remains at Minoa and remains of Cyclopean walls on the acropolis Caria.[54] Furthermore, we have shown that the location and character of the two acropolises of Megara are characteristic of Mycenaean sites, and many of the cults were seen to be pre-Hellenic.[55] Hence the following conclusion seems to be justified. Megara was first settled by a sea-faring people from the

general direction of the Aegean in Mycenaean or pre-Mycenaean times. These early settlers may originally have been natives of Crete driven from their home by an invader or led to establish themselves on the mainland of Greece for purposes of trade. Additional colonists, hearing of the advantageous location of this new settlement, came from time to time until a flourishing trade had grown up. With the growth of trade came also expansion of the fleet; hence, it was now safe and highly desirable to establish a harbor-town and consequently Nisaea was built along the coast.

But not only the early Megara had established themselves here. The Ionians likewise from the north and other peoples from the south kept coming in from time to time until it was necessary to extend the city proper to a third hill, the acropolis Caathon. By this time Megara had become too prosperous to please that great sea-faring people, the Cretans. On this account, as well as because of other grievances perhaps, Minos made war upon the isthmus and Attica, sacking them and compelling them to pay yearly tribute for many generations. Finally the Dorians came and established themselves as the ruling class in Megara, which for the first time became a permanently organized state.[56]

What was the relationship of Megara to her other neighbors at this time? The native tradition does not say but there was the belief that she was subject to Athens at one period or another. We are told that Theseus united Megaris to Attica and that it was subject to the latter until the Dorian invasion, when the two became permanently separated. This can hardly mean more than that a part of her territory was seized and held for a time. Boundary disputes in antiquity were common and Athens was not noted for her peacefulness.[57] The story of Sciron perhaps reflects this early border-warfare between the two neighbors; for by the Athenians Sciron was represented as a

robber and murderer when Theseus slew,[59] but the Megarian account[60] that he was a noble hero, foe of robbers, friend of the oppressed, and noble benefactor. The latter further maintained[60] that the killing of Sciron by Theseus took place when the Athenians under his leadership took Eleusis from them and not when he made his celebrated first trip to Athens.

We have previously shown that from early times Megara and Corinth were closely associated in trade relations and were therefore on friendly terms. There seems to be slight evidence for the view that Megara was ever subject to Boeotia.[61]

There seems to have been boundary disputes with Corinth also in early times but the exact relationship between the two cities is far from clear.[62] There was a tradition that Megara was even founded by Corinth[63] or that the Corinthians had a part[64] in founding it. This question will be discussed in a later connection.[65]

The relation of Megara to the Trojan War is equally obscure. There is only one possible reference to her in Homer[66] and even this is subject to grave doubt. It is very probable that she was still suffering from the effect of the Cretan invasion and was not able to equip an expedition to Troy, for otherwise, she would have played her part in this undertaking just as she did later during the Persian wars, as her interest in commerce and trade was sufficient to cause her to be manned by native sailors as those of the other Greek states of the Heroic Age. In this connection it must be remembered that the other great states of classical times, such as Athens, Corinth and Sicyon, played a very subordinate role at Troy.[67] The close of the Heroic Age[68] ends the first great period in Megarian history. Then she emerges again, she is a Dorian state.

The Mythical Kings of Megara.

Generations.

1. Car, son of Phoroneus. Led the first permanent settlement to Megara, and established it on the eastern acropolis called after him Caria. Built the Μέγαρον to Demeter.

--Eleven Generations--

13. Lelex, son of Poseidon and Libya. Led the Leleges to Megara from Egypt.
14. Cleson, son of Lelex.
15. Pylas, son of Cleson. Gave refuge to Pandion II. of Attica. Exiled for the murder of his paternal uncle Dias. Founded Pylus, city of Nestor.
16. Pandion II. Succeeded Pylas on the throne as the result of Aeacus' decision. Sciron, son of Pylas, made general.
17. Nisus, son of Pandion. Gave his name to the harbor-town Nisaea, which he built. Megaris invaded by the Cretans.
18. Megareus, son-in-law of Nisus, and son of Zeus. Came to the rescue of Nisus during the Cretan invasion.
19. Alcathous, son of Pelops. Came from Elis, rebuilt the walls of Megara, and settled the western acropolis called after him Alcathoa.
20. Ajax, son of Telamon, grandson of Alcathous. United Salamis and Megara under the same rulership.
21. Hyperion, son of Iphimedon. Last king of Megara. Killed or banished because of his ὕβρις.

Notes to Chapter V.

1. The most important special treatises on the mythical kings are the following.

C. Vogt, De Rebus Megarensium usque ad Bellum Persicum, Marburg, 1857.

J. Wolle, Megara im mythischen Altertum, in Programm des Gymnasiums zu Schlinghausen, 1880-81, pp. 1-25.

L. Weliger, Alkathous u. die megarische Königsliste in Festschrift für J. Overbeck, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 27-44.

F. Ifister, Die mythische Königsliste von Megara u. ihr Verhältnis zum Kult u. zur topographischen Bezeichnung, Hamburg, 1907. Reprinted in his Reliquienkult im Altertum, Giessen, 1909 pp. 1-50.

H. Heinganum, Das alte Megaris, Berlin, 1925, also discusses the kings passim.

The kings are discussed briefly in the general works on Greek history, antiquities, and cults, and in the special articles in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie. Throughout the present chapter the authorities listed above will be cited simply by giving their names unless otherwise indicated.

2. Paus. I. 39. 4. Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρία . Phoroneus was likewise considered the first ruler of Argos (Paus. II. 15. 5), and was said first to have organized mankind into the form of a state. For a discussion of the Argive genealogy see Waldstein, The Argive Heraeum I. 32-38. The fact that both Megara and Argos claimed Phoroneus in its genealogical list is important since some authorities have claimed that Megara was colonized from Argos. See Chapter VI. Ifister (pp. 10,11 with notes 18 and 21) on the basis of etymology would connect Car and Erechtheus with Demeter and Athena, respectively, in a relationship that may be expressed by the proportion, Car: Demeter = Erechtheus: Athena. That is, the first two are early male and female divinities of fer-

tility in Ionia just as the last two are, in early Athens. Furthermore, he claims that the form Κᾶρες (the people) is not in any sense connected with Κάρ (the king). For in Κᾶρες the α is long whereas in Κάρ it must originally have been short but became long under the influence of the tone. The aetiological explanation, however, seems to be more in harmony with the practice of antiquity; and besides, the ancients when bent on etymologizing would not be disturbed by the quantity of an α.

3. Homer (Il. 2. 867) describes the Carians as βαρβαρόφωνοι (Cf. Hdt. 8. 135); they are allies of the Trojans and their city is Miletus. Herodotus (I. 171) and Thucydides (I. 4,8) state that they were a pre-Minoan people and the latter adds that they were islanders of the Aegean. But Burrows (The Discoveries in Crete, p. 143) would make them late Minoan. In the fifth century B.C. opinions differed whether they were originally islanders or mainlanders. The later Carians of Caria, however, claimed autochthony where they lived, and either ignored or had forgotten their insular expansion. According to the Cretans (Hdt. Lc.) they had once been subjects of Minos and served on his ships. See Ridgeway, The Early Age of Greece I. 192-194; Myres in J.H.S. 26 (1906). 107-109; Cunham, The History of Miletus, pp. 31-43. Bölte and Leicker (Leth. Witt. 22 (1904). 89) suggest that future excavation about Misaen (i.e. Minoa) may tell us more about the Carians.

4. So Holm, Hist. of Greece, I. 63 ff., Duncker, Gesch ichte des Alterthums V.84.

5. See Chapter II s.v. Demeter.

6. So Solle (p.25) and Pfister (p.3). But Meinganum (p.118) thinks it is 12 generations; and Vogt (p. 10) and Seeliger (p.31) understand 10. Pausanias (I. 39.6) says: δωδεκάτη δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φορωνέως γενεᾷ, κ.τ.λ.

7. Cf. Bury (Hist. of Greece, pp. 62 f, 855), who apparently follows Wilamowitz (Euripides Herakles I.[2] 14 ff.) in accepting the Argive claim of being the

premier Dorian state of the Peloponnesus. Accordingly, Megara is considered a colony of Argos. (Cf. note 2). As can be readily seen from the genealogical table at the end of this chapter, the insertion of eleven generations thus brings the Megarian and Theraean tradition at Argos into harmony with respect to the number of generations after Inachus; for from Car to Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, are twenty generations, and from the daughter of Inachus to Agamemnon are twenty generations. Cf. the genealogical table given by Waldstein, op.cit. I. 32. But since Inachus is said to have become ruler of the whole Peloponnesus (Apollod. 2.3), we may possibly account for the presence of his name in both lists by saying that both Megarians and Argives were following a common tradition. See further Chapter VI., and note 9 below. In view of the fact that both Carians and Leleges were apparently contemporaneous if not the same people, it seems very mechanical to have eleven generations thus inserted.

8. Paus. I. 39. 6.

9. We cannot identify the Leleges with certainty. In Homer (Il. 21. 85-6) they are represented as the inhabitants of Pedasus, and probably possessed the strip of coast-land from Antandrus to Assus (Leaf, Troy pp. 235 f.). Herodotus (I. 171) says that the name Leleges was an older name of the Carians and according to Callisthenes (Strabo 13.1.53) the former people were located in the district of Halicarnassus. It would seem that the Leleges were a people closely akin to the Carians who had taken up their position on the islands and coast, and then were enslaved by the inhabitants of the interior and by the Greeks. An early king Lelex was autochthonous in Laconia and Messenia (Paus. III. 3, IV. 1; Apollod. III, 10.3). See E. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, I. 684 f. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache, pp. 376-84. Ridgeway (op.cit. I. pp. 193 f) thinks that perhaps the Leleges were the more western, the Carians the more eastern, of the two tribes

in the Aegean who were no doubt related.

The Leleges became established in the later literary tradition as we see by the Roman poets. Thus Ovid (Metam. 7.443, 8.6) speaks of the "Lelegeia moenia" and "Lelegeia litora" of Megara. On the shield of Aeneas (Vergil, Aen. 8. 725) the Leleges and Carians were represented among the captives of Augustus.

10. Hdt. 2.50, 4.180.

11. See Chapter II. s.v. Poseidon.

12. Paus. I. 39. 6. The name Cleson apparently comes from Thessaly (Ifister, p. 13, note 27.).

13. Pausanias writes the name in three different ways: in I. 39.6, Πύλας ; in IV. 36. 1, Πύλος ; in VI. 22. 5, Πύλων . Apollodorus (III. 5.2) uses the form Πύλας .

14. Apollod. III. 15. 5.2.

15. The Ionian migration is discussed by Hogarth, Ionia and the East pp. 24-41,115 The story of the flight of Pandion to Megara along with his previous troubles (Apollod. l.c.) seems to indicate that in both Megara and Attica the ruling house was being replaced by the invader.

16. Strabo IX. 1.5. ~~Plato, Critias 110-F.~~ Cf. Strabo IX. 1. 11, Pliny, N.H. 4.23. This tradition is, as Beloch (Griech. Gesch. I. 1. p. 142, n. 1) says, geographically sound. But Busolt (Griech. Gesch. I. 220), Wilamowitz (Hermes 9(1875), 324, 21(1886). 100, n.2), and Duncker (Geschichte des Alterthums, 5. 174, n.4, 394. n.1) reject the tradition, and the first two stoutly maintain that it is an Attic invention of the fifth century. Edward Meyer (Gesch. des Alterthums II. 341) seems to assent to the arguments of Busolt and Wilamowitz. It is rather significant, however, that the Megarians never disclaimed the presence of Ionians in their country in early times. The idea is sound geo-

graphically, and as historically probable as the appearance of the Dorians there in later times; for the Ionians no doubt came from the same general direction and by the same route as the Dorians.

17. Strabo IX. 1. 6. Cf. Jebb on Soph. Frag. 24 (Aegeus). Apollod. 3.15.5.6.

18. Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 58, Vesp. 1223.

19. Paus. I. 5.3; Strabo IX. 1. 6; Apollod. III. 15.6.1.

20. Paus. I. 39. 6; Cf. 44. 9. This is the Megarian tradition. Seeliger (p.16) considers the story late and due to Megara's membership in the amphictyony of Onchestus (223-192 B.C.), when the στρατηγος was the highest state officer at Megara. Hence, this story of Sciron would be a case of dignifying a later institution by giving to it an early origin. Seeliger thinks the list of kings was composed about 200 B.C. and probably sees in it too much late influence.

21. Paus. I. 39. 6. Plutarch, Thes. 10. Cf. Apollod. III. 12. 6.

22. Paus. I. 39. 4. This is the Megarian tradition. Pfister (p.25, n.66) thinks that the town Nisaea may have given Nisus as king in the genealogy. That is, Nisus is unhistorical and is created for the purposes of the aetiological myth. But Pindar (Pyth. 9. 88; Nem. 5. 45) calls Nisaea Νίσου λαός and Euripides (Herc. Fur. 954) Νίσου πολις, which would indicate an early tradition. It should be observed that Pindar in the above passages means Nisaea and not Megara, as the commentators seem to think, at least the reference to Megara is only by implication. See note 42. Wilamowitz (Hermes 9 (1875). 323), Pindaros, p. 15) thinks that Nisus is historical but of Thracian origin; the claim that he was Pandion's son, however, is again an Athenian invention to strengthen Athens' claim to Megaris. But Fick (Vorgriechische Ortsnamen pp. 121,130) considers Νισος a Pelegian word (that is, of Asia Minor origin), and points out the fact that in the Odyssey (15. 295, 15. 127) Νισος is the name of a hero of Dulichium in Acarnania. The latter country was an old Pela-

gian place of settlement. See further the appendix to this chapter.

23. It seems probable that the occupancy of the acropolis along the coast indicates commercial expansion as well as growth of population. The second of the twin hills on which the historical Megara stood did not receive a name until the time of Alcathous, so far as we know, and it may be that for some reason or other it had not yet become a part of the inland city. A good reason would be that, owing to developing trade, a harbor-town developed very early. Such joining of the early city with a harbor-town is another characteristic of Mycenaean cities. Other cities so joined to the coast were Argos, Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, Troezen (S. Ardaillon, Quomodo Graeci collocaverint portus atque aedificaverint 1898, pp. 10 ff.) Mycenae, of course, was too far inland to be thus joined to the coast.

24. Paus. I. 39. 6. This denial has been used as a serious charge against the Megarians; but Athens in like manner denied that their country had ever been invaded before the Persian wars although it is clear that the Dorians gained a temporary footing there; and that hated name was never forgotten (Hdt. 5.72).

25. Paus. I. 19. 5; Schol. Eurip. Hipp. 1190.

26. Paus. l.c.

27. Hyginus, Fab. 242.

28. The story is found in Aesch. Choeph. 611 ff.; Vergil, Ecl. 6.74 ff., Georg. 1. 404 ff. [Vergil] Ciris; Tibullus, El. 1.4.57; Propertius, El. 3.19.21, 4.10.26. 5.4.39; Ovid, Metam. 8. 5-150., Trist. 5.303, Her. 19.121, A.A. 1.331, Rem. 3.19.21 f. Ibis 302; Hyginus, Fab. 189, 198. For discussion of the literary treatment of the story see Rohde, Der Griechische Roman, pp.77,79 f. with notes; Smith on Tibullus 1.4.57; Frank, Vergil pp.35-46.

29. Hall, Proceedings of Soc. of Lit. Arch. 31(1909). 149, Anc. List. of the Near East, p.69.

30. Thucy. III. 91; Strabo IX. 1.5; Paus. I. 44.5. Callaicus, fr. 17 (M.); Geingarus, p.38, Vogt, p.28. Several other places received the name Minoa: towns in Aegorgus, Argolis, Megaria and Keily; a city and spring in Sicyonia; Paros and Gaza in Philistia were originally so called. See Bunnett, Crete in the Greek Tradition 1916, pp.61-69, where the subject of Cretan colonies is discussed and the authorities are cited. Cf. also Evans, The Palace of Minos at Knossos I. 2 f.

31. Ath. Mitt. 29(1904). 95; Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, p.227. The finds are late Minoan III. Pimmen, Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur, p.9. Hall, Anc. Hist. of N.E. pp.57 ff. Cf. below note 52.

32. Vogt, p.27.

33. Holle (p.17) thinks that the Leleges and Cretans were related, and that the former, naturally preferring their rulership to the rulership of the Ionians represented by Nisus, invited the Cretans to make war upon Megara. In this way he would explain the story of Scylla.

34. Cf. a similar story told by the Megarians in explanation of their loss of Salamis (Paus. I. 40. 4).

35. Paus. I. 3.1, 44.8; Strabo IX. 1.4; Plutarch, Thes. 10; Diod. Sic. IV. 59. For a discussion of the story of Sciron and Theseus in relationship to later ritual see Roberts in J.H.S. 32(1912). 105-110.

36. Paus. I. 39.5. His grave was pointed out at Megara. See Chapter II. s.v.

37. Paus. I. 39.5, Plutarch, Q.G. 7. 182 F. Apollod. E.15.8, Geingarus, pp.117 f, Vogt, p.34, Holle, p.14. See the Appendix to this chapter.

38. Iliad 2. 506: Ὄγχηστον θ' ἱερὸν Ποσιδήιον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος. That the worship of Poseidon was closely associated with Orchestus is seen from Pausanias IX. 37.1, 39.5, Strabo IX. 33, Hom. Hymn to Apollo. 82.

30. The oldest religious--commercial league of which we know is that of Calauria, which no doubt existed in Mycenaean times, as excavations about its central sanctuary tend to show. This league connected certain coast towns by joining the Mycenaean centers on the Ingasaean Gulf and in Boeotia with those of Argolis. The center about which this alliance turned was the temple of Poseidon on the island of Calauria off Troezen. During the historical period of Greek colonization the league connected Asia Minor with continental Greece and the West. The trade route with which it was concerned ran about as follows: Eretria--Athens--Megara--Aegina--Argolis--Parus--Miletus. In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Greek Catalogue in Homer is arranged in much the same way according to its principal cities. Note the arrangement: Boeotia--Aphesa-- Athens--Salamis--Argolis--Crete--Rhodes. This remarkably close correspondence between the Catalogue and the Mycenaean league cities has suggested the belief that perhaps we have in the Greek Catalogue an old-religious-commercial document and that we should try to understand it not as a political arrangement of the cities, which seems to be the prevailing view, but rather as a document or combination of documents connected with Mycenaean trade routes. This would be in harmony with J.A.K. Thomson's view (Greeks and Barbarians, 46 f., The Greek Tradition, 6 ff.) that in early prehistoric times commercial documents containing important trade routes were kept in the temples of the gods, and that during the colonial expansion of historical times the Greeks were merely reviving the trade routes centering about Crete, which had been broken up by the invasions.

In view of the above theory may not Pisaea (the Pisa of Il. 2.615) have been one of those coast towns belonging to the old Mycenaean league? It would seem that the work of Pisus and his relation to Boeotia can best be understood with that idea in mind. For observe that in the Pausanias passage Pegasus

is from Onchestus and son of Poseidon, just as in the Catalogue (Il. 2.506) Onchestus is sacred to Poseidon, and grouped with it is Nisa (Nisaea?) also a sacred town. See further the Appendix to this chapter. For the League of Calauria see Bell, The Oldest Civilization of Greece, pp. 256 f., 282, The Ancient History of the Near East, p. 531. For the excavations about the sanctuary of Poseidon or Calauria see Frazer on Paus. II. 33. 2.

40. For Alcathous see Paus. I. 39. 5, 42. 1-7, 43.4. Apollod. 3. 11. 7. 2, Ven. De Venat. 1. 3, Theognis, 774. Especially good treatises are by Seeliger (op.cit.) and Gnaack in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Enc.

41. His name, however, found a place in literature. Thus Pindar (Is. 7 (8). 67) speaks of Ἀλκαθόου τ' ἄγων [Vergil] in the Ciris says:

Stat Megara, Alcathoi quondam munita labore
Alcathoi Phoebique: dues namque adfuit illi.

Ovid says: in urbe Alcathoi (Metam. 8.8). Alcathoi ---- moenibus (Trist. 1.10.39)
Alcathoi ---- urbe Pelasga (A.A. 2. 241).

An inscription (I.G. 1. 1080) even speaks of the Megarians as Ἀλκαθοου ναετῆρες.

42. Cf. Miss Hambo, Lions in Greek Art, p. 3, n. 2. He is thus a kind of Heracles and is to be thought of in connection with that great hero and with Theseus. That Alcathous was closely associated with Heracles is shown by the myth which said that the latter, and not Alcathous, had slain the Cithaeronian lion. Wilamowitz (Euripides Herakles I. 40) thinks that Alcathous is simply a differentiation of one original individual. Hence Ἀλκάθοος is the fuller form of an intermediate form of which Ἄλκαος is an abbreviation. The form Ἀλκάθοος is older than Ἡρακλῆς, which would be employed only after the Dorians had entered Argos, where the hero was closely associated with Hera, the Argive goddess (op.cit. pp. 47 ff.). But Farnell

(Greek Hero Cults, pp. 22 f.) rejects this theory and holds that in the study of Heracles we must start with the form Ἡρακλῆς . He accepts Nock's etymology of the word ("The Glory of Hera") but thinks that it did not necessarily arise in Argos.

The word Ἀλκάθοος may be Phrygian, for we find it in Homer (Il. 12. 93, 13.427 ff., 465 ff.) as the name of a γαμβρός of Anchises. Its reappearance in Vergil (Aen. 10.747) is no doubt due to the epic literary tradition. For the ending -θοος cf. Ἱππο-θοος (Il. 2.840), the leader of the Pelasgians of south Troad. See note 46.

43. Pindar, Nem. 5.46, Isth. 7 (8). 67. Cf. above note 21. The level country about Nisaea was especially well suited for the holding of games.

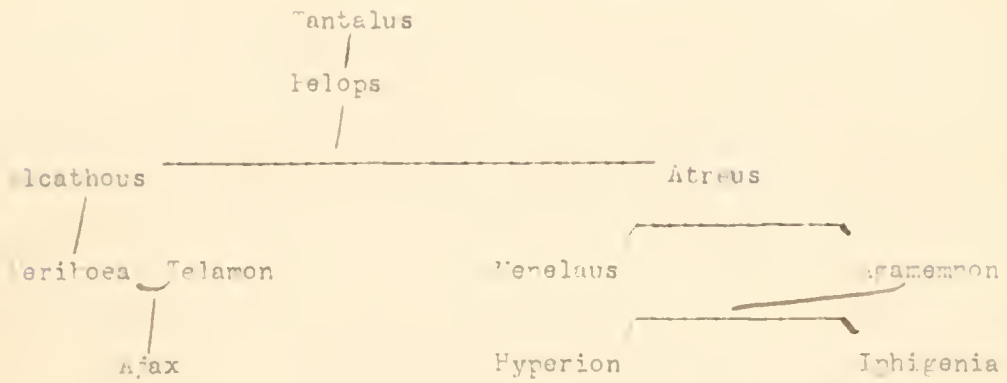
44. Holle, p. 21.

45. Paus. I. 42.2, 17.4. Apollod. 3.12.7. Schol. on Il. 2.14. Xen. de Venat. 1.9. Pind. Isth. 5.65. Peirgarum (p.131) following Müller (Dor. 2. 229, n.3) thinks that the statue of Apollo Pythius and Tithe-receiver may refer to tribute sent to Minos. But see Chapter II. s.v. Apollo.

46. It is now generally held that the Pelopidae came across the Aegean from the general direction of Anatolia. See Hall, Anc. Hist. of Near East, p.67, J.H.S. 29(1909). 19-22. The arguments against this view are given by Leaf, Hom. & Hist., pp. 50, 71. But Bury (Hist. of Greece, p. 58) thinks that Pelops was originally a god who later was degraded to the rank of hero, and was thereafter worshipped on the banks of the Alpheus. As Farnell (Cults of the Greek States, Greek Hero Cults, passim) argues, however, this is reversing the order, and the actual process, as we know it, is to raise an illustrious individual from the rank of hero to that of god. Hall (l.c.) well remarks that there is nothing distinctly Phaeax in Pelops, and believes that the Pelopidae were probably of Hittite origin, as the Greek Πέλοπος, Homer's Charioteer,

is probably the Hittite Tursil. He further connects the legend of the Amazons in Greece with a probable Hittite invasion of the Greek mainland. If this last view be correct, the Hittites would seem to have invaded Megaris twice for the grave of Hippolyte was shown in Megara (Paus. I. 41.7). We have already indicated that the word Ἀλκάθοος appears to have come originally from Anatolia. See note 42.

47. The family tree of the Peloridae would thus be constructed:



48. The question of Ajax's relation to Salamis will be discussed in a later chapter.

49. As Agamemnon was slain soon after returning from Troy the Megarians could not claim him as their king. But they did say that he had visited Megara before the war to induce Calchas, then living in Megara, to join the expedition. While there he erected a temple to Artemis (Paus. I. 43.1, Theog. 11f.). Iphigenia is also thought to have died there (see Chapters I, II. s.v. Artemis). These stories probably indicate the relationship that was felt to exist between the Peloridae in Argolis and Megara (Bolle p. 21, Peinganum, p. 134, Welcker on Theogn. 727).

50. Paus. I. 43.3.

51. Paus. l.c.

52. According to tradition the Dorian invasion took place in the second generation after the fall of Troy when the grandsons of Agamemnon were either killed

or expelled by the Dorians (Chadwick, The Heroic Age, pp. 173 f.). According to Megarian tradition Pandion was expelled because of his ὕβρις ; but he was the son, not the grandson, of Agamemnon. However, we must not hold the myths to strict consistency in such matters. The Dorian invasion is roughly dated at about 1100 B.C. by historians. In our computation 1117 (Megarian date of the invasion) + 700 (from Zeus to Hyperion) = 1817 in years B.C. 53. According to Evans' chronology (The Palace of Minos at Knossos I, 30 f. Hall, l.c. pp. 33 ff.).

54. At Nisaea and Minoa sherds were found belonging to L.M. III. (Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, p.223); at Minoa (not Nisaea as Fimmen says) Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean sherds (Fimmen, Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur, p.9); at Megara (i.e., on acrop. Caria) remains of Cyclopean walls (Fimmen, l.c.). See also Chapter III. s.v. Lottery.

55. Hall (The Oldest Civilization of Greece, pp.281 f.) says: "In a sense, of course, the majority of the Greek states were 'Mycenæan' survivals; there are few important Greek town sites which would not, if carefully examined, show proof of unbroken occupation as far back as the prae-Mycenæan period." Farnell (Cults. 3.68) assumed that Megara was a Mycenaean site. But Pöhlmann (Griechische Geschichte, p. 36 in Müller's Handbuch) considers the traditional history of such single Dorian sites as Sicyon, Phlius, Aegina, Laconia, Argolis, and Megara as "eine apokryphe," but admits that the older tradition in Sparta probably contains some historical truth.

56. See Chapter VI.

57. Cf. the proverb Ἀττικὸς πάροικος (Zenob. 2.28, Arist. Met. 2.21.12.) in Leutsch, Paroemiographi Graeci I. 40. The belligerent character of Athens is described by the Corinthian envoy in Thucy. I. 70. ff. also above note 15.

58. Paus. I. 3.1, 44.8; Strabo 9.1.4, Plut. Thes. 10; Diod. Sic. 4.59.

59. Plutarch (l.c. from the Μεγαρικά of Praxion?)

60. Plutarch, l.c.; Paus. 1.39.4. Scaliger, 35 ff.; Meursius, 23; Wolle, p.[illegible].

61. See the appendix to this chapter.

62. This question will be discussed in a later chapter.

63. Late sources seem to be the only authority for this statement.

64. Ps.-Scymnus (503-5) after Ephorus.

65. See Chapter VI.

66. Homer, Il. 2.508. See the Appendix to this chapter. Eustathius on Il. 2.547 quotes a certain geographer (ὁ γεωγράφος) as including the Megarians with the Athenians on the Trojan expedition.

67. Hall (Oldest Civilization of Greece, p. 282) says: "during the post-Mycenaean age Athens, though an important seat of Geometric art, seems to have fallen politically into a condition of complete insignificance, from which it did not emerge until the end of the sixth century." For the unimportance of Athens in the Trojan War see Scott, Cl. Ph. 6 (1911). 413 ff.

68. The traditional date was two generations after the sack of Troy. See note 50.

CHAPTER VI.

The Dorian Invasion and the Establishment of the Megarian State.

When Megara finally emerges from the obscurity that followed the close of the Heroic Age we find the Dorians the ruling class. When and whence did these Dorians come? On this question the local tradition so far as we know it is almost entirely silent, although there are a few traces of it. Thus the grave of Hyllus, son of Heracles, was shown near Thus; and on the boundary-line between Megara and Corinth the spot was pointed out where Hyllus had fought with the Arcadian Echemus.[1] There is little doubt, however, in spite of the scanty local tradition, that this period is the time of the Dorian Invasion,[2] or the return of the Heracleidae, as the ancients called it. Myth said that it took place two generations after the sack of Troy. It is now generally conceded[3] that the Dorians came from some district north of the Greek mainland, but the route by which they entered the Peloponnesus is a matter of dispute. Some[4] hold that, having reached the districts west of Boeotia, they set sail, and after passing along the west coast of the Peloponnesus and rounding its southern point, they spread out in various directions, some of them to the islands of the Aegean,[5] some to the coast of Asia Minor,[6] and some to the southern parts of the Greek peninsula. According to this view the states of the Peloponnesus were Dorized from the south.

Most of those who hold the above view also maintain that Megaris was colonized from the south by Argos,[7] for the latter claimed to be the premier state of the Peloponnesus. But there is little evidence that Megara and Argos were ever closely associated. The only points of contact seem to be the one feature of similarity between the Megarian and Heraean traditions

noticed above,[8] and this is more than offset by the utter absence of any traces of Hera worship in Megara.[9] Later events seem to have brought the two together, but so far as we know, there was no connection between them until 243 B.C.[10]

Tradition asserts and archaeology[11] seems to show that it is more likely that the Dorians moved down from the north in two streams, an eastern and a western. The western stream seems to have had comparatively little influence, but the eastern apparently came from the general direction of Thessaly and the north over the Boeotian plains, north Attica, and Megaris to Corinth. While the Dorians established themselves in Attica for a while,[12] it was in the Peloponnesus that they became strong enough to constitute the ruling class and develop a culture characteristic of the invader and differing radically from the culture of the mainland before 1100 B.C.[13] On this point both archaeological remains and tradition[14] are in harmony; and since it is evident that Megaris was in direct line of the movement and became Dorized both in her language and institutions, it is not surprising to find remnants of the characteristic Geometric ware at several places.[15] That the finds are not more abundant is probably due to lack of extensive excavation and to the hard fate that the country has suffered at the hands of successive invaders since the time of Minos.

A late tradition[16] also said that the Megarians were colonists from Corinth, but Busolt and Gauer reject the tradition. No doubt this claim on the part of Corinth was the result of a natural antipathy felt by the latter toward Megara and contains perhaps bitter recollections of that memorable defeat when the Megarians were able to erect their Treasury at Olympia from the spoils taken from Corinth.

We seem justified, therefore, in taking the view that the Dorians

came into Megaris from the north.[17] But while they were clearly the ruling class from this time on, they could not completely subject the former inhabitants as happened in Laconia. The form of government that they finally established was aristocracy based upon three tribes, the Hyllois, Dymanes, and Pamphyles, which existed at least as late as 223 B.C.[18] But the old pre-Dorian element constantly reasserted itself in the conflict between aristocracy and democracy, and the government at most periods was very unstable.

With the coming of the Dorians the country was definitely separated from Attica and probably at this time named Μεγαρίς, after the principal city Μέγαρα, and the people Μεγαρῆς.[19] It is therefore very probable that by this time Megara had become the ruling city whereas previously, according to Plutarch,[20] the country had been organized into five hamlets, Heraea, Piraea, Megara, Cynosura, and Tripodiscus.

But the Dorism of Megara was not of the extreme type such as we find it in Laconia. It was mild, due no doubt in considerable measure to the city's proximity to Athens and to its peculiar location on the isthmus which, from the first, had kept it in the path of cosmopolitan influences. The language itself was a modified Doric. Nevertheless, the country for the most part sympathized with Dorian civilization and the Dorian cause as represented by the Peloponnesus, and was regarded as the beginning of the latter.[21]

Notes to Chapter VI.

1. See Paus. I. 41. 2, 44. 10. Cf. Müller, Dorians I. 66.

2. For the historical discussion of the Dorian Invasion see especially Busolt, Griechische Geschichte, 1893, I. 201-262; E. Meyer, Geschichte des Alterthums II, 1893, passim; Holm, History of Greece 1, 1894, 135-155, Eng. trans. The traditional date was given as 1124-1104 B.C. (Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, vi-viii; cf. Chadwick, op.cit. p. 174). Thucydides (I. 12) says that 80 years after the taking of Troy (1184 B.C.) the Dorians had become masters of the Peloponnesus. This was the later invasion.

3. Beloch (Rh. Mus. 45 (1890). 555-98) denied entirely the historical character of the tradition and Niese (Hist. Ztsch. N.F. 26. 69, 76 f. Cf. Meyer 2. 72) thinks that it is pure myth. Meyer seems to be rather skeptical about it.

4. Bury, Wilamowitz, Busolt, Grote.

5. Such islands as Crete, Thera, Melos. But Strabo (14. 2. 6) says that Dorian colonists came from Megara to Crete and Rhodes. Cf. Cauer, Parteien u. Politiker im Megara u. then, pp. 42 f.

6. For example, Pamphylia, which preserved the name of one of the three Dorain tribes, the Παμφυλής.

7. Bury: Beloch (Griech. Gesch. I. 142, "Dorians" = Achaeans); "from the south," Wilamowitz (Hom. Unters. p. 252).

8. See Chapter V. s.v. Car and note 2.

9. See Chapter II, s.v. Hera.

10. In 243 B.C. Megara joined the Achaean League and Argos did so a few years later (Holm 4. 260). About this time Argos was importing Megarian vases (Goldstein, op.cit. 2. 182 f). On the latter see Chapter III. s.v. Pottery.

11. For a recent discussion of the Dorian invasion in the light of archaeology see S. Casson in the Antiquaries Journal I. (1921). No. 3. pp. 199-221.

12. Casson (l.c. p. 207) says: "Bronzes in large numbers have been found in the pre-Persian strata on the Acropolis identical in type with those from Sparta ---- Geometric pottery also occurs on the Acropolis." Strangely enough it was in non-Dorian Attica that the Dorian style seems to have been most vigorously developed (Casson and E. Gardner, l.c. pp. 217 ff.).

13. This seems to be about the time that the second invasion began. But L. Pareti (Storia di Sparta Arcaica, Florence 1917, pp. 139 f., quoted by Casson, l.c. p. 199) dates the beginning of the invasion in the fifteenth century. This writer makes the Dorians = Achaeans just as some others do, and denies that they had anything to do with the destruction of Mycenaean art or the growth of Geometric ware. The invasion probably occupied the greater part of a century and consisted of continuous infiltration of Dorian stock. Not all the later Dorian states were colonized at once.

14. The literary tradition is given by Herodotus (8. 43, 73, 9. 26), Pausanias (2, 13. 1, 5. 1. 2, 8. 5. 1, 6. 45. 2), Stephen of Byzantium (s.v. Δώριον), Diod. Sic. 4. 58. Cf. Müller, Dorians. I. 66 ff. This eastern invasion is the earlier one.

15. See Chapter III. s.v. Pottery.

16. See Busolt, I. 220, note 3, and Cauer, op. cit. pp. 40 ff. Cf. Müller, op. cit. I. 102 ff. Curtius (Griech. Gesch. I. 266) apparently accepts this view, and Wilamowitz (Hom. Unters. 252) quotes Niese to the effect that Megara's absence in Homer is due to the fact that it was one of the latest Dorian colonies, later than Corinth.

17. Strabo (7.1.2) says: Τῶν δ' Ἡρακλειδῶν τοὺς Δωριέας καταγαγόντων, ὑφ' ὧν τά τε μέγιστα ᾠκίσθη καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων.

Cauer (op.cit. pp. 42 ff.) takes this statement to mean that Megara was founded

before the other Peloponnesian states. Herodotus (5. 76) says that the Dorians established themselves in Megara after an unsuccessful attack upon Attica. Ephorus, and after him Pseudo-Scymnus (503-5), stated that the Corinthians and Messenians had a part but that the Dorians generally founded Megara. No doubt colonists came from several directions at one time or another.

18. See Collitz-Bechtel, S.G.D.I. No. 3025.

19. The form of the name of the country varied. In prose it is ἡ Μεγαρίς (Strabo 9.1.1, Polyb. 4. 67.7), ἡ Μεγαρική (Athen. 15. 491) In poetry we find ἡ Μεγαρηΐς and ἡ Μεγαρῖτις (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μέγαρα). After the colonization of Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, to distinguish the mother country from the colony the former was sometimes called Νισαία Μεγαρίς (Athen, l.c.) and the people Νισαῖοι Μεγαρῆς (Diod. Sic. 11.53; Theocr. Id. 12.27; Ap. Rh. 2.747) or οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ (Paus. 6.[illegible]).

20. Plut. Quaest. Gr. 17.387. Cf. Müller, op.cit. I. 102 ff.

21. Strabo 3.5.5.

Appendix to Chapter V.

The Name Megara.

It is usually stated that the original name of our city was Νῖσα but that later it was changed to Μέγαρα, a name derived from the royal palace (μέγαρον) that stood on the acropolis Caria during the Heroic Age. The leading proponents of this view (Allen, Wilamowitz, Fury and Geinganum) base their arguments mainly upon two passages, the one from Homer (Iliad β. 506) and the other from Pausanias (I. 39. 5), both of which are susceptible of various interpretations. In the Homeric passage we find Νῖσα Κισσάεσσα grouped with the twenty-eight towns of Boeotia which together contributed 50 ships and 6000 men to the expedition against Troy. Is this Νῖσα the later Μέγαρα? Allen, who considers the Greek Catalogue a reliable historical document for this early period, claims that Megaris was subject to Boeotia at this time and that the southern boundary of the latter, therefore, extended to the Saronic Gulf. Wilamowitz agrees that religion and saga are abundant enough to prove that Megara was subject to Boeotia before the Dorian invasion, but he does not give the evidence. Geinganur suggests that originally both cities were included under the name Νῖσα but that later when the inland city became known as Μέγαρα, the harbor-town kept the old designation. Fury apparently accepts Wilamowitz' statements.

The ancients themselves found great difficulty in explaining the Homeric line as we learn from Strabo (IX. 2. 4), and several variants were offered for Νῖσα such as Ἴσσα, Κισσάεσσα, Λίσσα and even Ἐλευσίς. Allen, who firmly believes that the later Megarians were guilty of attempted interpolations in important historical documents, would explain these variants

as due to Megara's unwillingness to admit that Boeotia's line ever extended to the Saronic Gulf. But Fick thinks that [illegible] was generally understood to be a town in Boeotia, although Apollodorus, according to Strabo (l.c.), states that no Boeotian town of that name was known in later times.

A careful study of the arguments offered by the modern advocates of the above theory shows that they are not entirely satisfied with their own explanation. Allen's and Wilamowitz' view violates both geography and history since to bring Boeotia's boundary south of Mt. Cithaeron would be a most unnatural condition; and our study of the myths and cults has shown nothing but friendly feeling on the part of Megara for Boeotia, a peculiar attitude for one country to take toward another country that had for long periods subjected it. We know that after the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.) Megara became estranged from Boeotia (Polyb. XX. 6. 7ff.) but until that time they had been on harmonious terms throughout their entire previous history. Furthermore, in Chapter V. we noted the tradition that in pre-Dorian days Megaris and Attica were a single territory, a belief to which Megara seems to have offered no objection. Beinganum's argument was based upon a statement of the scholiast on Theocritus (12. 27). The text of the scholium, however, is uncertain offering the variant forms Νίσα, Νίσσα and Νίσαια. Wendel (Teubner text, 1914) has adopted the last reading (Νίσαια)and Heinzius had previously rejected Νίσα.

It seems possible nevertheless to offer an explanation of this situation which so far apparently has not been suggested. In order to do this, it will be found convenient to deal with the word Μέγαρα first, then with Νῖσα , and finally to summarize some general conclusions.

Colonel Leake seems to have been the first to suggest that the original name of our city was Μέγαρα , and that this name has con-

tinued throughout an unbroken tradition down to modern times. He derived the name from the sanctuaries (μέγαρα) of Demeter that were established on the acropolis Caria in early days. He further explained that the later Megarians, following a common practice sought for the origin of the name of their famous city in Heroic times. This explanation seems to be in complete harmony with what we know of Demeter worship, for the word μέγαρα or μέγαροι was frwquently used of Demeter's temples. Pausanias (III. 25. 9, IX. 8. 1) speaks of the μέγαρα Δήμητρος at Thenopolis and τὰ μέγαρα καλούμενα of the same goddess at Patrias. In the latter case μέγαρα is equivolent to χάσματα , the crevices into which pigs were commonly thrown during the performance of the ritual. While the plural form was likewise used of the temples of other deities, it was especially appropriate to a chthonic divinity such as Demeter, since originally it devoted natural chasms or clefts in the earth. It was therefore the cave dwelling of the goddess. But it was a very easy step to construct such a dwelling above ground, also, for the deity, although the old name was still retained. Such a mystic shrine no doubt belonged to a very old stratum of religion and so μέγαροι or μέγαρα survived with the cult into later days. In such matters religion is very conservative.

Philology likewise seems to confirm the view that Μέγαρα was the original name of our city. Fick considers the word to be pre-Hellenic and probably of Carian or Cilician origin, as the termination -αρα is very common in place names of Asia Minor, particularly in Caria. (Cf. Buckler-Robinson, Am. J. Arch. XVI, 1912, pp. 43, 49). There was also a city named Μέγαρα in Pontus (Steph. Byz.) and one in Syria (Strabo XVI. 2. 10). It is therefore conceivable that the word was actually carried fully developed as the name of a city across to the isthmus by the early Carians, but this is not likely. In any case we may conclude that Μέγαρα was originally

associated with Demeter's worship and of religious origin. Its etymological meaning in that case would be "The City of the Sacred Chasms," and not "The Chief's Castle," as is usually held.

In considering the name Νῖσα we shall accept the myth which said that before the invasions of the Cretans, king Nisus had organized a town, about one mile and a half from the inland city, along the southern coast. Now we have already suggested that the word Λῖτος is of Asia Minor origin, perhaps a Pelegian (Carian) word. Therefore Νῖσα, which occurs in the Homeric line referred to above, could very easily be the early name of this harbor-town, which in later times was changed to Νίσαια or Λισσαῖα, in order to give it a more common Greek form. The ancients easily forgot the origin of such place names, particularly if they were non-Hellenic words.

It seems significant, therefore, that in the Greek catalogue Νῖσα ξαεέν should be grouped along with Ὑλλήνην θ' Ἱερόν thus:

Ὑλλήνην θ' Ἱερόν, Πολιχνίτην τε λιμένα,
οἵ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄγιν ἔχον οἵ τε Νῖσαν
Λῖτόν τε ξαεέν Ἀνθήδονά τ' ἐκτετοῦσαν.

(Iliad 2. 506-8) We have seen in Chapter V. that in early times Onchestus and the cities of Megaris belonged to the same commercial league; and we explained the coming of Megareus from Onchestus to the rescue of Nisus, when the Cretans invaded the latter's country, as due to their bond of friendship. If Onchestus was sacred at this early time to Poseidon, the god of commerce, so Nisa must have been sacred (ξα Ποσειδῶν) to the same god, hence the intimate grouping of the two towns in the Homeric passage. To strengthen this argument, we may recall that the old sanctuary of Poseidon was located near Nisaea and apparently associated with the life of that community

(Chapters I, II); for clearly the early god of commerce would be more distinctly worshipped in the harbor town than in the inland city. See note 50.

Furthermore, we have suggested that the insignificance of Megara (Nisa) in Homer is due to the real situation in which the city found itself at the time of the Trojan expedition, the result perhaps of the Cretan invasion. In any case, her relatively insignificant place in Homer compared with her later history is no greater than that of other great classical sites such as Athens, Corinth, and Sicyon. The Homeric passage, then, indicated that the harbor-town Nisa sent its small contingent to Troy as a part of the Boeotian contingent. But an old document, such as Allen believes the Catalogue to be, would naturally give the original name of the city--Nisa, and not Nisaea.

That we should thus sharply distinguish the two cities Megara and Nisaea has been pointed out in Chapter V, note 42; for evidently their distance apart would permit them to develop at an early time before population became so dense their own peculiar interests. Nisaea was related to Megara much the same as was the Piraeus to Athens, hence the commercial party would live in the former and be particularly interested in commercial enterprises. We must further remember that it was only after the Dorian invasion that Megara became representative of the whole country. In early times each city of Megaris seems to have been independent, and during the Heroic Age we may well believe that Megara and Nisaea were nearly as distinct as Pagae, Aegosthena, and Tripodiscus. But it was natural in much later times, when Megara had become the leading city, to confuse it with the harbor-town, and it is probably on this principle that we can explain the statement of Pausanias (I. 39. 5): Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Σθενέλου τοῦ Καπανέως ἐς Πανδίονος ἀκούσια ἀφικόμενοι

The derivation of Μεγαρία from Μεγαρεύς is a popular etymology.

There is still another native Megarian tradition that deserves brief notice in the present connection. According to a story usually assigned to Dieucidas "the father of Megarian history," a certain Μεγαρεύς or Μεγαρεύς, son of a Bithnidian Nymph and Zeus, was founder of the Megarian dynasty, and was therefore regarded as eponymous hero of Megara. He escaped from the flood of Deucalion and found safety on Mt. Geraneia. This mountain, however, was nameless at the time but was so called thereafter because Megareus, by following the cry of some passing cranes (γέρανοι), swam to a jutting peak and thus saved his life (Paus. I. 40. 1; Etymol. Mag. s.v. Γερανεία). Dieucidas was a late writer and the story bears all the marks of a later invention, especially if we keep in mind the variant form Μεγαρεύς, which was no doubt introduced to explain the tradition of the coming of Megareus from Boeotia.

Finally, there is a Theban tradition as old at least as the Odyssey (11. 269), which made Megareus and Megara children of Creon. After Heracles had rescued Thebes from the oppression of Orchomenus, Creon out of gratitude gave Heracles his daughter Megara in marriage. From this union were born the Ἡρακλεῖδαι, who were honored in Thebes (Pindar, Isth. 3. 82; Paus. I. 41. 1, IX. 11. 2). But later Heracles in a fit of madness slew the children and deserted Megara. Her sad face appeared to Odysseus (Od. l.c.), and she was represented in the paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi. (Paus. X. 29. 7). This seems to be the legend upon which

Busolt and Wilamowitz mainly rely to show that Megara was subject to Boeotia in pre-Dorian days.

There seems to be little connection between the Theban legend and the myths centering about our city. In the first place, Megareus of Thebes was the son of Creon, while Megareus of Onchestus was the son of a god (usually Poseidon); secondly, Megara (Μεγάρα) the daughter of Creon seems to be related to our city (τὰ Μέγαρα) only by a chance similarity of sound, for it is doubtful if the personification of cities began so early, a practice implied by those who would identify the two words.

In conclusion, then, we may believe that Μέγαρα was the original name of our town, and that it has continued to be used throughout its history. On the other hand, Νῖσα was the original name of the harbor-town which in later times was changed to Νῖσαία or Νισαία . But in comparatively late times when Megara's prominence was waning, the origin of both towns was forgotten, and the one was often confused with the other, particularly since Megara had become the representative town of the country. Hence arose the belief that originally Megara was called Nisa.

For the discussion of the above question see especially the following:

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Ernest Leslie Highbarger was born October 15, 1885 at Seward, Illinois. After the usual preliminary training he entered Mount Morris College, Mount Morris, Illinois, where he received the A.B. degree in 1908. In the fall of that year he entered the Johns Hopkins University for graduate work in Greek, Archeology, Latin, and Sanskrit. He attended courses offered during 1908-1912 by Professors Gildersleeve, Robinson, Miller, Smith, Mustard, Wilson, Bloomfield, and Magoffin. During the years 1909-1911 he was Fellow in Greek.

In 1912 he was appointed Instructor in Greek in the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., which position he held until the spring of 1916, when he resigned in order to pursue special work in Classics in the University of Chicago, where he received a Fellowship in Greek. In 1917 he was appointed Professor of Greek and Latin in Mount Morris College, Mount Morris, Illinois. From 1918-1922 he was Professor of Latin in Mount Morris High School. In the fall of 1922 he returned to the Johns Hopkins University to complete his work toward the doctorate, changing his major subject from Greek to Classical Archeology in which he had done full work during his previous four years of residence, and offering Latin and Sanskrit as subordinate subjects.

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